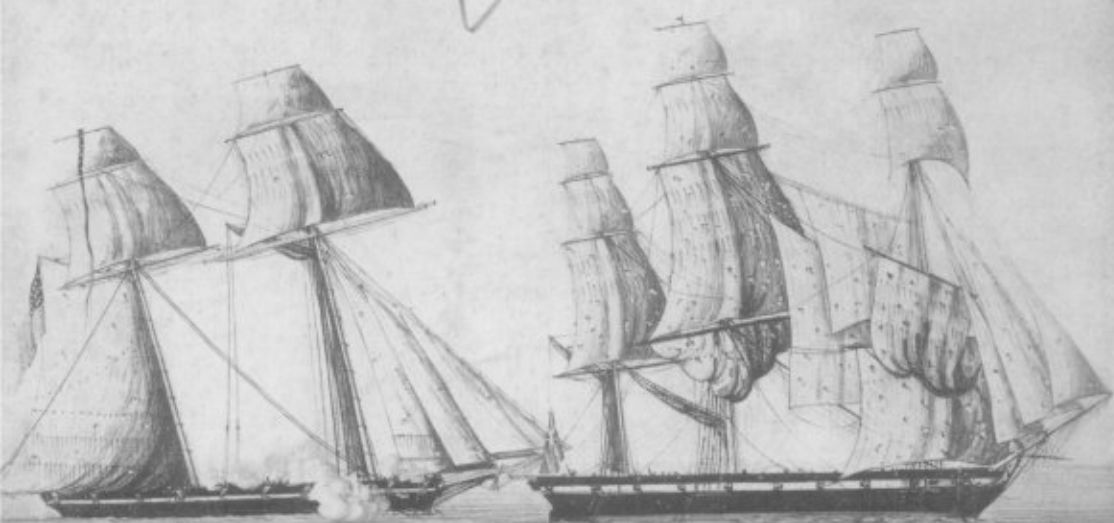


MARYLAND

HISTORICAL MAGAZINE



SURPRISE CAPTURING THE STAR JAN 27 1815

See page 316.

MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

BALTIMORE

December · 1958



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MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

VOL. 53, No. 4

DECEMBER, 1958

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THE *COMET* HARASSES THE BRITISH

Edited by FRANK F. WHITE, JR.

IN JULY, 1812, Captain Thomas Boyle sailed from Baltimore on the first of his three voyages in the private armed schooner *Comet* to win for himself the reputation now forgotten as one of the most daring figures in the annals of American naval history. For a privateersman to achieve that distinction was no mean accomplishment. Yet this honor fell to Captain Boyle who matched his ships successfully against regular British naval craft to become known as a man of extraordinary courage. He left such a trail of destruction behind him that by the time the war had ended, all England knew his prowess and respected him. He annoyed the enemy "wherever he chanced to steer . . . carrying dismay and terror to British trade and commerce," so that the *Comet* soon became one of the chief objects of civilian fear and naval search.¹

The sources of information about Boyle's fabulous exploits are

¹ Edgar Stanton Maclay, *A History of American Privateers* (New York, 1899), p. 279; and John Phillips Cranwell and William Bowers Crane, *Men of Marque* (New York, 1940), p. 125.

a logbook,² *Niles' Register*,³ and a contemporary newspaper account.⁴ The logbook, which deals with the first two voyages, was kept by an officer who does not reveal his name. There is reason to believe, however, that he was Dr. James B. Stansbury, the *Comet's* surgeon who accompanied Boyle on his voyages.⁵ The *Baltimore Patriot* published Boyle's letter describing his third voyage in its issue of April 4, 1814.⁶

Historians know very little about Thomas Boyle's life. Of his early life, there is no information except that he was born in Marblehead, Massachusetts, on June 29, 1775.⁷ He came to Baltimore when he was very young, and at an early age he seems to have become a sailor. In 1794, he married a Baltimore girl, and thereafter he made that city his home. At the outbreak of the war in 1812, he took the *Comet* to sea and remained with her until 1814. In the latter year, he took charge of the *Chasseur* in which vessel he achieved his greatest renown.⁸ In the *Chasseur*, Boyle "defied the most powerful navy the world had ever seen, and had the monumental effrontery to proclaim a blockade of Great Britain. Boyle and the *Comet* had been considered the epitome of privateering, but Boyle and the *Chasseur* were its apotheosis," comment Cranwell and Crane.⁹ Following the close of the war, Boyle entered the merchant service. He died at sea on a voyage from Alvarado to Baltimore, on October 12, 1825.¹⁰

Boyle was but one of the many sea captains who, during the War of 1812, helped Baltimore to take the lead in fitting out armed vessels for use as privateers which did their full share of damage to British shipping.¹¹ This statement is not surprising for

² The logbook, owned by the Maryland Historical Society, was acquired in 1949 by purchase.

³ *Niles' Weekly Register*, IV (March 27, 1813), pp. 71-72.

⁴ *Baltimore Patriot*, April 4, 1814.

⁵ The log contains entries relating to the sales of drugs, medicines, and store fixtures in 1837 in addition to the narrative of the *Comet's* two cruises. There is no other information available on Dr. Stansbury.

⁶ The *Baltimore American* also published Captain Boyle's letter in its issue of April 6, 1814.

⁷ Information furnished by the Office of Chief of Naval Operations, Naval History Division.

⁸ The *Chasseur's* log was published in the *Md. Hist. Mag.*, I (1906), 168-180, 218-240.

⁹ Cranwell and Crane, *op. cit.*, p. 226.

¹⁰ The *Baltimore Gazette* for November 24, 1825 carried the notice of Boyle's death.

¹¹ George Coggeshall, *History of American Privateers* (New York, 1856), p. 6.

at the declaration of war, because of the embargo, there were a large number of idle Baltimore seamen who could easily be enlisted for that type of service.¹² On July 4, 1812, a Baltimore newspaper announced that "several small, swift privateers will sail from the United States in a few days. Some have already been sent to sea, and many others of a larger class, better fitted and better equipped, will soon follow."¹³ One of the vessels referred to was the *Comet*. The result was that "what had been a peaceful merchant marine was being transformed into a fleet of fast-sailing, hard-hitting commerce raiders."¹⁴

Because of British supremacy at sea, Americans relied more on their privateers to achieve naval victories than on their regular navy. The privateer existed almost solely for profit from the capture of enemy vessels wherever and whenever they could be found. She was designed primarily to prey on merchant shipping, sending those so captured into port, the owners selling the ships and cargoes for whatever prices they could bring.

The few American privateers which were captured amazed the British by their flimsy construction and poor armament. "Baltimore vessels of this class," comments Henry Adams, "came into favor long before the war because of their speed, quickness in handling, and economy during the experiences of twenty years of blockade running and evasion of cruisers."¹⁵

Thomas Boyle delighted in tantalizing the British. Whether he interrupted British Commerce, on the high seas, on the Spanish or Portuguese coasts, or in the English or Irish channels, made no difference to him. He likewise cared little whether other naval powers interfered or whether he caused all sorts of diplomatic incidents. He was so successful in all his efforts that he detected the vulnerable spot in the British armor: trade and local communications, which forced the British Navy to dissipate its strength and

¹² "In the United States every possible encouragement should be given to privateering in war with a commercial nation. We have tens of thousands of seamen, that, without it, would be destitute of the means of support, and useless to their country. Our national ships are too few to give employment to a twentieth part of them, or retaliate the acts of the enemy. But by licensing private armed vessels the whole naval force of the nation is truly brought to bear on the foe, and while the contest lasts, that it may have the speedier termination, let every individual contribute his mite, in the best way that he can, to distress and harass the enemy, and compel him to peace" (*Niles' Weekly Register*, II [August 15, 1812], p. 397.)

¹³ Coggeshall, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

¹⁴ Cranwell and Crane, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

¹⁵ Henry Adams, *The War of 1812* (Washington, 1944) p. 152.

to use its vessels for guarding convoys instead of for blockade duties.

Captain Boyle left Baltimore in the *Comet* on July 11, 1812, on his first cruise which lasted four months. He headed out to sea, and ranged without hindrance from Bermuda to Brazil. His initial cruise was relatively unsuccessful, even though he captured several vessels, manned them with prize crews and confiscated their cargoes. The *Comet* arrived back at Fort McHenry on October 6, after eighty-three days with Boyle boasting that he had not a man killed during the cruise, "and was never Chased the whole time."¹⁶

After a month's refitting, the *Comet* set out on her second cruise on November 24, 1812. Boyle headed for Pernambuco where he arrived on January 9, 1813. It was this second cruise which made Thomas Boyle famous. Not only did he completely outsail several enemy vessels and defeat with ease a Portuguese naval brig which was escorting two English ships bearing wheat to England, but he also took more than twenty prizes and engaged in a controversy with the governor at St. Bart's about his taking on wood and water while he refitted. Finding that he was becoming overburdened with prisoners, Boyle returned to Baltimore where he arrived on March 17, experiencing no difficulties in passing through the British blockade of the Chesapeake Bay.¹⁷

Following his return from his second cruise, Boyle underwent a seven month's lull in his privateering activities. From April 16 to September 18, 1813, the owners lent the *Comet* to the United States Navy. During this time, Boyle served with the *Comet* as a sailing master on commerce protection duty in Chesapeake Bay. Otherwise the *Comet* would have been forced to remain at her wharf because of the blockade of the Bay. Boyle seems only to have been engaged in dull and routine patrols watching and reporting on enemy activities during those seven months.

On October 20, Boyle once more evaded the blockading squadron and began his third cruise which "added enormously to his reputation if not his pocketbook."¹⁸ For the next five months he

¹⁶ "The *Comet* of Baltimore returned home during the present week, her cruise being out, with about 90 prisoners on board. She has captured several valuable vessels, and has not been chased during her cruise" (*Niles Weekly Register*, III [October 10, 1812], p. 94).

¹⁷ *Niles' Weekly Register*, IV (March 27, 1813), p. 71.

¹⁸ Cranwell and Crane, *op. cit.*, p. 145.

operated once more in the West Indies, and as during his previous cruises, he harassed the British once more. The highlight of this cruise seems to have been his engagement with the larger ship *Hibernia*, following which Boyle put into Puerto Rico to refit. This action caused all sorts of diplomatic repercussions between England and Spain. At length, after "being chased during the time thirty-four times, by frigates and men of war brigs," he arrived at Beaufort, North Carolina, on March 19, 1814.¹⁹ There he found instructions for him to return to Baltimore.

Leaving the *Comet* at Beaufort, Boyle took passage in a small vessel and returned to Baltimore. From there, he proceeded to New York where he took command of the *Chasseur*. New owners, meantime, had refitted the *Comet* and put her to sea once more under the command of a new captain.²⁰

These contemporary accounts provide a full and detailed description of Thomas Boyle's cruises in the *Comet*. They also give much information on the successful challenging of British naval superiority by "a Yankee Comet." Boyle's part in the naval phases of the War of 1812, therefore, deserve more than passing attention. Certainly his activities had more than nuisance value. His contemporaries had the highest praise for him. Captain George Coggeshall, the privateer author of *The History of American Privateers*, and one of Boyle's contemporaries, describes the latter as a "dashing, brave man. . . . He evidently possessed many of the elements of a great man, for in him were blended the impetuous bravery of a Murat, with the prudence of a Wellington." He goes on to say that "had this gentleman been a Commander in the United States Navy, his fame and valor would have been lauded throughout our great republic; but as he only commanded a privateer, who speaks of him?"²¹

Boyle, fortunately, was not completely consigned to the limbo of forgotten heroes. The United States Navy recognized his importance by naming a World War II destroyer for him.²² Thus,

¹⁹ "The privateer Comet of Baltimore has arrived . . . from a cruise in which she made twenty prizes: the chief of which were destroyed after divesting them of their valuable effects" (*Niles' Weekly Register*, VI [March 26, 1814], p. 69.)

²⁰ Cranwell and Crane, *op. cit.*, p. 377.

²¹ Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 125.

²² The U. S. S. *Boyle* (DD-600), was launched in 1942. She joined the Atlantic Fleet as part of the invasion of North Africa. Returning to the United States in late November, 1942, she served off the East Coast and in the Caribbean until February, 1944. She took part in the invasion of Southern France in August, 1944,

Boyle was restored to his rightful place among our naval heroes and famous Americans.

Here begins Stansbury's narrative of the *Comet's* cruise.

On board the Privateer Schooner *Comet* of Balto. July 12th 1812, below Fort McHenry. At 3 P. M. got underway with several Balto. Privateer Schooners. July 15th at 11 A.M. left Cape Henry all in good health and Spirits for a Three Months Cruise. Wind S & S.E. 17th Boarded Brig *Lamprey* Prize to the United States Frigate *Essex*. 22nd Boarded Ship Active of Philadelphia from Lisbon. Same day Portuguese Schr. St. Franciscus. 26th, Lat. 28, 49 Long. 59.10. At half past meridian on a wind Standing to N. & E. to get the wind of a Ship then in sight on the same Tack. At 1 P. M. Tacked Ship to the South'd. At half past 2 P. M. could not weather the Ship. Tacked the Ship to the Eastward. At 3 P. M. tacked to the South'd, Ship bearing S.W. by S. At 20 Minutes past 3 abreast of the Ship about a quarter of a Mile distant & She hoisted English Colours. Refd. Foresail & put the Schooner under fighting sail. All hands to quarters & Immediately bore down upon him. At 25 minutes past 3 P. M. he fired the first Shot which passed over us when a general engagement took place which lasted till 37 Minutes past 3 when down came the long boasted pride of Old England to a Yankee *Comet*, without doing us any damage except a few grape Shot through our Sails & several which lodged in the waist. Ceased firing and on boarding found her to be the Ship *Henry* of Hull near Four Hundred Tons burthen, commanded by James Dryden from St. Croix, bound to London.²³ Her crew 20 in number, her metal 4 Twelves & Six- Six pounders. Cargo as per bills of lading 83 Hogsheads 6 Tierces,²⁴ 70 Barrells of Sugar, 19160 lbs. Fustic,²⁵ 3640 lbs. lignum vita, 13 pipes Maddira Wine. [*sic*.] Finding her to be a lawful prize, took on board the *Comet* the first and second officer, & Thirteen seamen, sent on board the Ship *Seth Long* as prize master.²⁶ Edward Carey Masters Mate and nine seamen.²⁷ Permitted Captn. Dryden & four Boys to remain in the Prize.²⁸

Augt. 4th. Brig *Madaira* of Portsmouth N. H. from Cape D. Verds [Verde] bound Home. Lat. 28.57 Long.: [blank in the original] At 8 A. M. made a sail bearing S. S. E. Standing to the North'd. At 11

and in the summer of 1945, she participated in the Okinawa Campaign. She was placed in reserve in March, 1946, after receiving four Battle Stars.

²³ St. Croix is an island in the Virgin Islands group.

²⁴ "Tierces" refers to a cask intermediate in size between the barrel and the hogshead.

²⁵ "Fustic" was a type of dyestuff.

²⁶ *Seth Long* died at sea off Pernambuco, January 10, 1815, while he was prize master aboard the *Comet*. *Baltimore American*, April 23, 1815.

²⁷ Edward Carey is further unidentified.

²⁸ The notice of the *Henry's* arrival appeared in *Niles' Register* for August 15, 1812. "The vessel and cargo will produce a clear profit to the captors of more than \$100,000, and the duties to be paid to the United States will amount to nearly \$50,000."

Tacked Ship to the Windward of the vessel about one mile distance. She appeared to be a large Ship. Bore away & run upon her and prepared for action. At 20 Minutes after 12 within Three Hundred yards of her, she hoisted English Colours. Fired a shot at us and prepared for action, when a general engagement Commenced which continued very warm. At 35 Minutes past meridian our fore topsail braces shot away, attempted several times to board the ship but was prevented from the masterly manner which she was manouvered. Kept up a continual firing broadside after broadside and at intervals, a peal of musquetry from the marines. Ship makes a more feeble resistance. At 40 Minutes past 1 P. M. she struck her colours to the Comet after being cut all to pieces scarcely a rope being entire. Mr. William Cathell and a marine Thomas Cadle the only persons on board wounded, the former very severely in the arm & leg &c from the blowing up of his powder horn while in the act of primeing [*sic.*] his gun (which hung fire so long he was of opinion she would not go off) the latter from a musket ball in the corner of the left Eye.²⁹ The Comet has not rec'd any very material damage except one grape shot which passed between wind & water, and a few lodged in the Hull & a number through the sails. Boarded the ship found one man dead, the Carpenter, and seven wounded amongst the latter the Capt'n. or Master, some of them very dangerous. On boarding she proved to be the ship Hopewell of London from Surinam for London, C. J. Lye Commander, William Anderson Master. She mounted Six Eighteens & Eight Sixes (Caronades) and Twenty five men including officers. Three Hundred & forty-six Tons burthen. Cargo as per bills of lading 710 Hogsheads of Sugar, 54 Ditto Molasses, 111 Bales of Cotton, 34 Casks of Coffee, 150 Dags Ditto, 74 bags of Cocoa. Permitted Wm. Anderson (master), Two Boys & Three wounded seamen to remain in the Prize Ship. Sent on board the Hopewell John Hooper Prize Master & Eleven Seamen & ordered her for the United States.³⁰ 24 Boarded Ship Comet of New Port, R. I. from St. Ubes.³¹ Put on board C. J. Lye Commander & Supercargo of the English Ship Hopewell.

26. Spoke Privateer Schr. Swordfish of Gloucester on a Cruise who the day before fell in with Two English Merchant Ships engaged them after exchanging [*sic.*] a few Broad Sides had one man killed & one wounded. Sheired [*sic.*] off. The Comet immediately went in pursuit of them but could not come athwart them.

Sept. 2nd. Lat. 38.30. Long: 48.30. At 6 A. M. Discovered a sail standing in the Northern quarter. It was being calm. At half past 8, a light breeze from the Southard. Set all sail could pack and immediately gave chase. At Meridian discovered she was a Brig Standing to the Eastward

²⁹ Both Cathell and Cadle are further unidentified.

³⁰ "The Ship Hopewell. . . captured by the Comet of Baltimore, [was] sent into port after an obstinate engagement. . . The Hopewell is worth \$150,000. Her late captain bears the most honorable testimony of the bravery of the crew of the Comet" (*Niles' Register*, III [September 12, 1812], p. 30-31.)

³¹ St. Ubes is a city in Portugal south of Lisbon.

under a press of sail. At 3 P. M. she hoisted English Colours. We prepared for action immediately. Gave him a gun & run up the American flag. At 10 Minutes past 3 P. M. within Pistol shot of him to windward. Gave him part of a Broadside. With a few shot from the musquetry, and down came the English flag. Not a gun being fired from the Brig. On boarding found her to be the Brig Industry of London from Surinam bound to London. Peter Holden Master. Mounting Ten Guns—Nines & Sixes. Thirteen men on board including officers. One Hundred and Seventy-five Tons burthen. Cargo as per bills of Lading 195 Hogsheads of Sugar, 50 Hogshead Molasses, 32 Bales of Cotton, 10 Casks Coffee, 184 Bags of Coffee, 100 Ditto Cocoa, 8 Pipes Old Madaira [*sic.*] Wine, 2 Hogsheads ditto ditto. Took on board the first officer & seven seamen. Permitted the Capt'n. & four boys to remain in the Prize, one of which had his Thigh Bone fractured & otherwise considerably Injured from a fall from the Top-gallant yard this morning Inst. before they discovered the Comet in chase. Sent on board Solomon McCombs Prize Master & Six seamen to navigate her to the United States.³²

14th. Boarded Schr. Resolution, Linzee Master from Boston bound to Cadiz.

16th. Brig Nancy & Kate, Oliver Master from Philadelphia bound to Lisbon.

18th. Lat. 33.00. Long: 5700. At 2 P. M. discovered a Sail to the S. W. Standing to the N. E. a heavy squall came over at that time. However, made all the sail we could in Chase. At half past 2 P. M. tacked ship to the windward of the Chase which appeared to be a large armed ship. Bore away & run down upon her. At 3 P. M. hauled upon a wind again to Completely [*sic.*] reconoitre and made every preparation for action. Set the Fore topsail, reef'd and bore down again under fighting sail. At 20 Minutes past 3 she fired a Shot at us & hoisted English Colours. Had six courses brail'd [*sic.*] up & appeared ready for action. At 45 Minutes past 3 he gave us three Cheers, we bearing down upon his weather quarter. At nearly the same time within musket shot. Bore away athwart his stern and commenced firing upon him from the great guns & musquetry. At 55 minutes past 3 P. M. down came King George's Ensign, he haveing [*sic.*] fired only Two guns into us, out boat and boarded her. She proved to be the Ship John of Liverpool mounting Fourteen Guns Twelves & Sixes, and Thirty one men, burthen 364 Tons. Cargo as per Bills of Lading, 223 Hogsheads Sugar, 3 Barrells ditto, 105 Puncheons of Rum, 742 Bales of Cotton, 18 Tierces of Coffee, 35 Barrells ditto, 129 Bags ditto, 18 Pieces Hardwood, 3 Tierces Copper, 2 Boilers of ditto, 14 Pieces ditto. They had one man killed and several wounded. Ship very much cut in her sails and Rigging. The Comet rec'd one shot in her foremast—which has dangerously wounded it. Sent Purnel Austen Prize

³² "The Comet overhauled every vessel she saw; yet made only four prizes, but they were worth 400,000 dollars, and have all safely arrived" (*Niles' Register*, III [October 17, 1812], p. 110.)

Master on board with 12 Men to take her to U. S.³³ Permitted the former Captn. four Passengers & Three boys to remain in the Prize. We then made all sail for the United States and arrived safe at Fort McHenry 6th. of Octr. after a pleasant Cruse of 83 Days, and had not a man killed during the cruise, and was never chased during the whole time.

The owners of the Comet have determined to fit her out again with all possible expedition for a second cruise.

The Comet's prizes have all arrived. The three Ships in this Port & the Brig in Beaufort, North Carolina.³⁴

* * *

Private armed schooner Comet of Baltimore. Thomas Boyle Comdg. Sailed from Cape Henry 24th Novr. bound on a cruise. On the 26th gave chase. Came up with & spoke the Schr. [left blank in the original]. from Norfolk to St. Barts.³⁵ Boarded 3rd Decr. Spanish schr. Donna-Maria, from Hallifax to Havana. 9th a Portuguese ship of 18 guns—from Pernambuco to Oporto. 14th a Spanish ship from Monte Video to the Mediterranean.

Janry. 9th. Made Pernambuco. Spoke a Coaster from Pernambuco, who informed us of some English vessels to sail in a few days from there. 11th spoke Portuguese Brig Wasa from St. Michaels to Pernambuco.³⁶

12th, at 1 P. M. discovered four vessels standing out of Pernambuco, laid by to give them an opportunity of getting off shore & to cut them off. At 3 P. M. they were upon a wind standing S. E. and about 6 leagues from the land. Bore up & made all sail in Chase. At 5 we were coming up with them very fast. At 6 discovered one to be a very large man of war Brig. Called all hands to quarters. Loaded the Guns with round and grape. Cleared the deck, and got all ready for action. At 7 P. M. close to the Chase. Hoisted the American Ensign & sheired [*sic.*] close up to the Man of War Brig, who had hoisted Portuguese colors. He hailed & said he would send his boat on board. Accordingly, we hove too, and received his boat. The officer said that the Brig was a Portuguese National vessel, mounting Twenty Thirty two pounders and one hundred & sixty five men, that the others were English vessels bound to Europe, under his protection, and that I must not molest them. Captn. Boyle informed him he was an American Cruizer, and insisted upon his seeing his authority to capture English vessels, which he did. He then informed him that he would capture those vessels if he could, that we were upon the high seas, the common high way of all nations, that he had no right to protect them, that the high seas of right belonged to

³³ The ship *John* was worth "at least \$150,000 [and was] sent into Baltimore by the Comet of that port" (*Niles' Register*, III [October 17, 1812], p. 109.)

³⁴ Cranwell and Crane estimate that Boyle's captures exceeded \$400,000 which enabled him to purchase an interest in the *Comet*, Cranwell and Crane, *op. cit.*, p. 131.

³⁵ St. Barts or St. Bartholomew is a French West Indian island, located about 130 miles northwest of Guadeloupe.

³⁶ St. Michael's probably refers to the island in the Azores group and not to the Talbot County town of that name.

America as much as to any other power in the world, and that at all events (under those considerations) he was determined to exercise the authority he had, and capture those vessels if he could. The Portuguese officer observed he should be sorry if any thing disagreeable took place, that they were ordered to protect them and should do so. Captn. Boyle answered him that he should equally feel regret that any thing disagreeable should occur, that if it did, he would be the aggressor, as he did not intend to fire on him first. But that if he did attempt to oppose him or fire on us when trying to take those English vessels, we must try our respective strengths as we were well prepared for such an event, and should not shrink from it. He then informed us those vessels were armed and very strong. Captn. B. observed he valued their strength but little, and should very soon put it to the test. He then went on board the Man of War Brig to communicate the conversation, with a promise of again returning. However, he did not. Finding he did not mean to return again, Captn. B. spoke the man of war immediately and asked him if he intended sending his boat back. He said he would speak his convoy, and request to send our boat on board. Captn. B. entertaining some suspicion of his motives for thus asking for our boat, told him he did not make a practice of sending his boat from the vessel after night, and should not do it now, and again told him his determination very distinctly, so that he should not misunderstand us. The English vessels were ahead of us, consisting of a ship of 14 Guns and 2 Brigs of 10 Guns each, making in all a force of 54 Guns. Made all sail immediately for them. Came up with the Ship (the three in fact were close together), hailed her & ordered them to back the main top sail. He gave little or no answer, haveing [*sic.*] quick way at the time shot ahead, but told him we should be along-side again in a few minutes, and if he did not obey the orders, we would pour a broadside onto him. After a few minutes tacked. The man of war close after us. This was about half past 8 P. M. We then ran along side the ship, one of the Brigs being close to her, and opened a broadside upon them both. We were all carrying a Crowd of Canvas, and from superior sailing was frequently obliged to tack, and should have profitted much by it had the man of war not been so close, who now opened a heavy fire upon us with round & Grape, which we returned, having now the whole force to contend with. We stuck as close as possible to the English vessels. They frequently seperating [*sic.*] to give the man of war a chance and we as frequently poured the whole broadsides into them and at times the man of war, who kept up a constant fire at us, when his guns would bear. About 11 P. M. the ship surrendered being all cut to pieces and rendered unmanageable. Directly after the Brig Bowes, our present prize surrendered. She was very much disabled also. We then proceeded to take possession of her, and [as] the boat was passing [,] the man of War gave us a broadside, and was very near sinking the boat, which was obliged to return. We then began again at the man of war, who sheired off to some distance. We followed a little and then made the third surrender, she being also cut to pieces. We was [*sic.*] now again proceeding to take possession of the Bowes,

when we again spoke the ship, the Capt. of which was ordered to follow us, who said his ship was in a sinking condition, having many shot holes between wind & water, and not a rope but was cut away. However he would for his own safty if possible follow us. At half past 1 A. M. took possession of the Bowes & manned her out. After this the man of war fired a broadside into her and passed her. The moon was now down and it became quite dark & squally, which caused us to sepearate [*sic.*], except the man of war, with whom we were frequently exchanging broadsides. At 2 A. M. he stood to the Southard, it being dark. We were out of sight of the other brig & ship which was in a southerly direction. We now thought it most prudent to take care of the prize till day light, the Captn. of which informed us the ship & other Brig were loaded with Wheat from Rio [de] Janario [*sic.*], bound to Europe, had sailed from there under the protection of this Portuguese Man of War Brig, and had put into Pernambuco for Water, etc., and that the Captn. of the Ship before he struck informed him that he was in a sinking condition, cut all to pieces, and so was the other Brig. At day light we were close to the Prize. The man of War standing for us, we immediately hove about and stood for him or rather for the Brig & ship that was in the same direction. He tacked likewise, and shewed signals for the Convoy to make the first port, knowing the Ship & Brig to be in a sinking condition & from the perishable nature of their cargoes which must inevitably be very much damaged. They being of little value and not in a situation to send to the United States I concluded not to take possession of them but to watch their manouvres. They both bore up before the wind for the land I followed for some time, taking particular notice of them. It appeared in company with the man of war which appeared also to be much damaged. there were great exertions made to keep the ship from sinking, which with the Brig, settled in the water. The man of war appeared at times to render them assistance. The ship was called the George of Liverpool, Captn. Wilson. The Brig was called the Gambier of Hull, Captn. Smith.³⁷

At 10 A. M. went in pursuit of the Bowes, and at meridian spoke her. I have since learned from several vessels which I boarded from Pernambuco, that the man of war brig was damaged very much.³⁸ Amongst the wounded was the Captn. who had his thigh shot off & has since died of his wound, besides having her first Lieutenant [and] 25 Men killed. The ships masts scarcely lasted to carry her into Pernambuco. Her cargo was nearly all damaged. She was dismantled & obliged to get new topsides put into her. The Brig was nearly in the same situation. The greater part of her cargo being damaged, and it was with difficulty they kept her from sinking before they reached Pernambuco Harbour.

January 17th. Was chased by a Frigate & Schr. Could not make out what nation, after chasing about 4 Hours. Finding we beat them, they gave over the chase.

18th. Land of Pernambuco in sight. Boarded a Portuguese Brig from the

³⁷ Hull, Yorkshire, England.

³⁸ Pernambuco is a state in Brazil.

river St. Franciscus to Pernambuco.³⁹ Same day a Portuguese Ship from Lisbon to Pernambuco, and the Schr. Grand Sachem from Philadelphia to Pernambuco, Gamble Master, out 41 days.

20th. Spoke a large Portuguese Ship of 24 Guns (all brass) from Lisbon, 44 days out for Pernambuco.

21st. Boarded a Portuguese ship showing 40 guns (30 of them wood) from Lisbon to Pernambuco.

22nd. Spoke the Portuguese Sloop of War Calipso of 22 Guns.

23rd. Latt. 12.46 S. boarded a Portuguese Brig from St. Salvadore [Salvador] to Gibraltar [*sic.*].⁴⁰

24th. Lat: 13.15 S. Gave chase to a Ship that proved to be a Two Decker Man of War, upon which discovery we made off.

26th. In sight of St. Salvadore [Salvador]. Was chased by a 74, a Sloop of War, a Man of War Brig and schooner. Crowded all sail, supposing them to be English, and escaped from them during the night.

29th. At 5 A. M. discovered a sail to Leward, standing to the Southard & Westward. Tacked Ship & made sail in pursuit of her. At 8 A. M. discovered her to be a tolerbale [*sic.*] large ship, coming up with the chase very perceivably. At 9 jibed [*sic.*] the main boom over & set the lower Studding-sail, in fact, all the sail we could crowd. At 10 A. M. appeared to be gaining on the Chase, who had packed on a Crowd of Canvas to endeavour to get from us. At 11 A. M. coming up with her very fast she hoisted English colors. Still a crowd of canvas set before the wind. At 1/4 past meridian hoisted our colors, gave the Ship a bow Gun. Yawed off, & then then whole broad Side, in hopes to cut away some of his rigging & disable him, as he sailed very fast, & to prevent a Chase too far to Leward. Although we were long Gun shot off, [*sic.*] In a few minutes we cut away his studding sail, haultards, &c. and closed with him fast, when he began to engage us also. We now reserved our fire to close with him as quick as possible. At 30 minutes P. M. we were within long musket of him, and opened the broadside with the Great Guns and musketry at the same time upon him. At 40 minutes P. M. she struck her Colours, being much damaged in her sails & rigging, we having one man killed (John Dent) & two wounded, one with the loss of his leg.⁴¹ Board[ed] the ship immediately. She proved to be the Ship Adelphi, of Aberdeen, from Liverpool bound to Bahia.⁴² Loaded with Salt & Dry Goods, mounting Eight Eighteen pounders, commanded by David Raitt.⁴³ Sent on board Lieut. Cathel & a parcel of men to repair damages. Took out the prisoners. At the same time sent William Bartlett,

³⁹ Stansbury probably refers here to the San Francisco River of Argentina.

⁴⁰ San Salvador is an island in the Bahamas group.

⁴¹ John Dent is further unidentified.

⁴² Aberdeen is located in northwestern Scotland, while Bahia is a state in Brazil.

⁴³ David Raitt is further unidentified.

Prize Master, and 11 Men on board her to take her to the United States.⁴⁴ At 7 P. M. parted company with her.

February 5th. Spoke a large Portuguese Ship of 16 Guns, 35 days from Rio [de] Janeiro, bound to Oporto.⁴⁵

[At this point, Stansbury's journal is interrupted to insert this section from *Niles' Register*, not included in the original.]⁴⁶

"On the 6th of Feb. at day light, discovered two brigs, to leeward, the island of St. Johns bearing NNW, distant two leagues; made all sail in chase, and called all hands to quarters, discovered the nearest to be an armed brig; we coming up with her very fast; at 6, she hoisted English colors, fired a gun, and hauled them down again; took possession of her immediately; she proved to be the brig, Alexis, of Greenock, from Demarara, loaded with sugar, rum, cotton, and coffee, mounting 10 guns;⁴⁷ sent Mr. Ball and six men on board to take her to the U. States, and made all possible sail after the other;⁴⁸ at 8 A. M. discovered a man of war brig, upon a wind standing to the S. E. apparently from St. Thomas; found out by the prisoners that they were part of a convoy of nine sail from Demarara, bound to St. Thomas; that the greater part of the convoy had got in the night; that the man of war brig then in sight was the same that convoyed them, she was called the Swaggerer, at 9 A. M. hoisted our colours and prepared to give the brig we were in chase [*sic.*] of, a broadside, when she hoisted her colors and gave us her whole broadside of great guns, which we instantly returned, and down came her colors; after she had struck, they cut away her topsail; and jib, haulyards, &c, in addition to the damage we had done by our shot, which was very considerable; sent Mr. Cathell, 1st Lieutenant, and some men to make sail and repair the rigging as quick as possible; took out the most of the prisoners with the boat I had kept belonging to the Alexis, and sent Mr. Giplin, prize master, and seven men in the boat to relieve Mr. Cathell;⁴⁹ the brig by this time had made sail, and I filled away with the Comet; the boat being at a little distance from us, ordered it alongside for the purpose of gaining the brig sooner, but unfortunately in getting alongside they sunk the boat and she was lost; fortunately no one was drowned; the man of war by this time had gained much on us; I thought it imprudent to make any delay, and ordered Mr. Cathell to make the best of his way through between St. Johns and St. Thomas, as the only possible means of saving the brig from recapture, and in the meanwhile I would with the Comet keep close to the man of war brig to divert his attention till he could escape. The brig captured was called the Dominica Packet of

⁴⁴ William Bartlett is further unidentified.

⁴⁵ Cranwell and Crane say Boyle placed his prisoners aboard the Portuguese brig which is unnamed, *op. cit.*, p. 136.

⁴⁶ *Niles' Weekly Register*, IV (March 27, 1813), pp. 71-72.

⁴⁷ Demerara is a river in British Guinea.

⁴⁸ Mr. Ball is further unidentified.

⁴⁹ Mr. Giplin is further unidentified.

Liverpool, from Demarara to St. Thomas; loaded with rum, sugar, cotton, and coffee, mounting 10 guns; I accordingly hove about and lay by to give the man of war brig an opportunity of approaching me, which he did to within gun shot; I soon discovered we were very superior in sailing; of course could perplex him as I pleased, by either approaching or running away from him, as the circumstances required; we kept him in play in this manner till meridian, when I found Mr. Cathell had got through the Passage, who I had ordered to steer to the north and I would endeavor, if possible, to fall in with him at meridian—made all sail upon the wind, for the purpose of going round St. John's; and out of the passage between Tortola and St. Johns; the Swaggerer carrying all sail she could pack in chace [*sic.*] of us; at 2 P. M. had dropped him full four miles to leeward; at the same time discovered a sail upon our weather bow, and shortly after could discover her to be a schooner coming before the wind; at 3 P. M. was close to her; fired several muskets at her, and she hove too; put Mr. Wild, prize master, and six men on board, took out the prisoners, and ordered him through the passage between Tortola and St. John's; she was the schooner Jame, from Demarara to St. Thomas, loaded with rum, sugar, and coffee, the man of war brig carrying everything in chace [*sic.*] though far to leeward."⁵⁰

[The following is Stansbury's narrative once more resumed.]

7th. Boarded the Brig [left blank] (Portuguese) One day from Pernambuco to Angola.

12th. Anchored at the Island of Fernando [de] Norohna for the purpose of getting wood and water.⁵¹ The Privateer Yankee, of Bristol, left there two days before, the sea being very rough, and dangerous landing, and the weather looking very ugly. Got under way on the 13th without being able to wood or water.

14th. Brot to & spoke a Portuguese Brig from Bahia to Gibraltar. [*sic.*] Had spoke an American Frigate three days before, 28 to windward of St. Bartholomews. Was chased by his B. M. Frigate Surprise for 6 Hours. Out sailed her with ease. At 3 A. M. on the 1st of March, made the Island of St. Bartholomews, & at 5 A. M. came to anchor in the Harbour of St. Barts. At 7 A. M. was ordered out by the Governor who refused us the privilege of being supplied [*sic.*] with either wood or water. Capt. Boyle represented to him he was fearful his Foremast was sprung in consequence of which he permitted us to anchor again for a few hours to examine it. Meanwhile we made arrangements to get off wood & water in the Night unobserved. At 4 P. M. got under weigh & stood out of the Harbour, the Governor refusing to let us stay longer. At 8 P. M. fired a shot at a small sloop & schooner [*sic.*] privateers (English) that were within Gun shot of us to windward. They immediately stood in shore for shelter. At 8 P. M. ran into the mouth of St. Barts Harbour & made signals that would be known to the Americans there, and the

⁵⁰ Boyle here possibly means Tortuga an island near Haiti.

⁵¹ Fernando de Norohna is an island in the South Atlantic approximately 125 miles off the coast of Brazil.

boats began to come off with wood & water. We lying to or Tacking in the mouth of the Harbour, received a number of puncheons of water on deck, with some wood, which lumbered us very much, and put the decks into perfect confusion. At 11 P. M. the[y] absolutely refused to bring us any more water. Several vessels had just before come out of the harbour and run to Leward, and I presume must have been captured, as I heard several discharges of Musketry, after the boats refused to bring us any more water. The Captn. of the Brig Newton of Balto took the remainder on his deck, and got under weigh, in company with an hermaprodite Brig, and ran out of the harbour, being bound to Balto. and for the purpose of delivering me the water in the morning at sea, and requested me to protect him during the night which had been previously agreed upon, and which we intended doing. We all then bore up together the decks were very much lumbered with water casks and wood. I turned all hands too to start water & clear the deck. Got up thirty muskets and as many Cutlasses as a precaution to be ready in a moment if anything appeared. About 20 Minutes after we bore away several muskets were fired at us from a vessel upon our starboard quarter, we being then under Jib & Topsail only, so as not to run away from the vessels in Company, who could barely keep company with us under that sail, and thinking these muskets were fired from a very small privateer that we expected was dogging us. Took very little notice of them, till after a few minutes, we discovered it to be a large Schr. Privateer called the Luisa of St. Kitts.⁵² Close on board of us, it must be observed it was tolerably dark. The guns were immediately cleared away—and gave him a whole broadside, (well told) damaged him very much. He jibed ship immediately in confusion, not expecting such a reception I presume. Could observe his sails & rigging very much disordered, and hear a considerable noise on board. In fact, heard a great number of shot strike him. Captn. Boyle would have persuaded him, not wishing to protect the vessels with him & fearful of their being captured if he left them, determined him not to follow him, so kept company with them the remaining part of the night. At day light made Dog Keys.⁵³ At 8 A. M. made Sombero.⁵⁴ At the same time a large Man of War Brig stretching from under it towards us, from which causes we were not able to get the remainder of our Wood & water from the Newton. Hauled upon the wind immediately to reconnoitre, the Newton following as well as she could. At 9 A. M. a small sloop, supposed to be a tender to the Man of War Brig stood towards us from the windward of Sombero. She tacked close to leeward of us, and stood on the same tack with us. Fearful that his intention was to cut off the Newton when opportunity offered, who had fallen considerably to Leward of our wake, gave him one of the long nines, and he bore up close of the Island, and then hauled his wind again. The two Brigs finding the man of war approach them fast, they bore up, and we saw

⁵² St. Kitts is located in the Leeward Islands.

⁵³ Possibly Dog Rocks in the Virgin Islands.

⁵⁴ Sombero is an island in the Anegada Channel. It belongs to Great Britain.

them a long time together. Continued to dog them till meridian, when they all appeared to run to leeward.

Nothing very material occurred till the 4th.

At 4 P. M. discovered a Sloop close in with the N. W. end of St. Croix, beating to windward. Made all possible sail in chase. At 5 P. M. made a Tack close into the shore. The sloop did also close into the breakers. Fired several Muskets at him. He immediately bore up. Out boat. Sent Lieut. Cathel[1] & 11 Men well armed in her in case he hauled his wind, and the Comet bore up—& commenced firing at him from the great Guns, in hopes by the boat or schr, to get possession of him. The sea being rough, & he close in with the breakers, would do but little execution with the guns. He escaped by running round the west end of the Island. She was a fine Bermuda built sloop, loaded with sugar. Agreeable to the Information which we had received, gave up the Chase, and hove to for the boat to come on board. Received the boat and proceeded round the west end of the Island and to the Southward. At 2 A. M. tacked ship. At day light made a sail directly to windward of us. Made all sail upon a wind in chase. At 6 A. M. discovered it to be a ship upon a wind, trying to weather the east-end of St. Croix. At 8 found we gained upon the chase, and discovered it to be an English merchantman armed. At 9 she tacked again and weathered to the southard. At half past 9 A. M. she tacked again & weathered the east end of the Island. We could not weather. Made several tacks, and weathered away. Crowded all sail, but the ship had got near the harbour of Base end.⁵⁶ At 11 A. M. gave up the Chase, the ship having received a Pilot, and got within the reefs.

[Here Stansbury's logbook comes to an abrupt end. Boyle, meanwhile, commenced his course to the northward and he arrived off Cape Henry on the night of March 17. Evading the blockade, he arrived in Baltimore shortly thereafter. There now occurs the delay until fall during which interval Boyle served with the Navy.]

* * *

Sailed from Cape Henry on the morning of the 20th of Oct. [1813] after passing in the night, all the enemy's squadron, laying in the bay, bound on a cruise in company with the priv[ateer] *Revenge*, of Baltimore.⁵⁶ On the 31st of Oct. boarded the Sp[anish] ship *Preciosa*, fr. Cadiz to Havana. Nov. 1st, boarded the Sp[anish] brig *Fernandez*, from Malaga to Havana; ⁵⁷ the same morning parted co. with the *Revenge*. Nov. 2, boarded the Sw[edish] brig *Lucetta*, from Boston to St. Barts,

⁵⁶ Probably Basse-Terre, located on St. Kitts.

⁵⁶ The Editor of the *Patriot* introduced Boyle's letter with these words: "The following very interesting extracts from the journal of the privateer *COMET*, of this port, have been politely communicated by Captain Boyle, her commander, to the Editors of the *Baltimore Patriot*, for publication. The enterprize, skill and courage which mark this distinguished commander, and his gallant crew, cannot but give the highest pleasure to every honest American, by this new exhibition of them" (*Baltimore Patriot*, April 4, 1814.)

⁵⁷ Malaga is a city in southern Spain.

Nov. 3, to Windward of St. Barts, boarded the Prussian ship *Dei Biene* from Gottenburg to Havana; ⁵⁸ same day, lost one man overboard that drowned. On the 5th Nov. to the northward of Sombrere, [*sic.*] boarded the Sp[anish] sch[ooner] *Nuestra Senor del Cormen*, from Teneriffe to Havana. ⁵⁹ On the 6th, chased sail to the northward of Saba, which proved to be an English frigate outsailed her with ease. ⁶⁰ On the 9th. Nov. at night, near the harbour of St. Thomas, took the English sloop *Experiment*, of Guadaloupe, in ballast, and destroyed her. Nov. 11, was chased to the north of St. Thomas' by a man of war brig, outsailed her. Nov. 13, just off Sail Rock Passage, discovered the St. Thomas convoy, about sixty sail of large ships under convoy of the Marlborough 74, *Venus* frigate, and three large men of war brigs. The frigate and brigs gave chase to me, and after two hours chasing, gave over chace [*sic.*] same day, sent on shore at Tortola on parole, the captain and part of the crew of the *Experiment*, and went in chase of the convoy. On the 14th, discovered the convoy, and was chased off by the frigate and brigs—kept in sight of the convoy, and regularly chased daily, till the 21st. sometimes very disadvantageous to us, and very advantageous to them, but always succeeded in out-sailing them—Nov. 21st. lat-, boarded the Sw[edish] sch. *Carlescrona*, from St. Barts to Bath. From the 22d to the 27th, was chased every day by the frigate and brigs of the convoy. 27, the frigate in sight, took the English sch[ooner] *Messenger* of St. Johns, from St. Vincents to St. Johns; loaded with rum and molasses; manned and ordered her for the U. S. Nov. 28th, was again chased; same day, boarded the Russian ship *Hazard*, from Liverpool to Amelia Island. 30th, was chased again, and so continued daily till the 2d. Dec. when, finding it impossible for one single vessel to do anything with the convoy, they being so strongly guarded, and would frequently chase me 40 miles from them, I concluded to abandon the chasing of them any further. On the 3d. Dec. recaptured the sch[ooner] *Industry*, of N. York, that had been captured by B. M. brig *Recruit*, proceeding from Charleston to N. York; ordered her for a port in the U. States.

The *Comet* then proceeded cruising away to the S. E. of Bermuda, progressing as far to the eastward, as the long. of 33, 00, W. and then southward and westward, as far as the coast of Surinam, where she arrived on the 28th Dec. the same day chased a brig into Surinam river, but could not succeed in getting her, she having got under cover of the battery there. 29th Dec. to leeward of Surinam, took the English sloop *Little Cherub*, of Surinam, of small burthen, having only Plantains in, took some of them out, gave up the sloop and paroled all the prisoners I had on board, and sent them on shore to Surinam; same day, took the Eng[lish] brig *Hannah*, of Bermuda, loaded with lumber; ransomed her. Jan. 2d. to leeward of Barbadoes, took the Eng[lish] sch[ooner] *Jackman*, of Barbadoes; loaded with lumber and a few cases of wine, took out the wine. Jan. 3d. took to leeward of Martinique, the Eng[lish] sloop

⁵⁸ Gottenberg is a city in Sweden.

⁵⁹ Tenerife is the largest of the Canary Islands.

⁶⁰ Saba Island is located in the Leward Group.

Industry, of St. Lucia, in ballast; ransomed the Jackman, and put the crews of both vessels on board of her on parole, and sent her away; same day destroyed the Industry.

Jan. 4, took the English brig Enterprize, of St. Kitts, from Grenada, bound to Guadaloupe, having on board a few barrels of bread and some specie. Took out some of the bread, the specie, and several other small articles of provision kind, and ransomed her. My reasons for ransoming and not destroying this vessel, was because she had the yellow fever on board. But I wish it made publicly known that the commander of the English vessel is an American, named JOHN HOWE, a man, I believe, well known to be unfriendly to his native country, and not long from it—a native of the State of Connecticut, I understand, and is to all appearances a great scoundrel. Jan. 6, took the English sloop Mary, of St. Kitts, loaded with plantation stores, &c. manned her for the U. S.—since foundered at sea. Jan. 8, took his Britannic Majesty's schooner Vigilant, John Benson, commander, tender to Ad. Laforey, sent her for the U. S. Same day I parolled and sent to St. Barts, the crews of the Vigilant and Mary. Jan. 9, chased a brig all night and fired several shots at her—in the morning at day light within gun shot of her, fired again at her, when she rounded to, hauled upon the wind and made all sail in chase of us. We then found her to be a man of war brig that had been trying to decoy us. We exchanged several shot—outsailed her easy, and she bore up before the wind.

Jan 11, per long, discovered a sail, made all necessary sail in chase. At 3 P. M. discovered her to be a ship, running before the wind, to appearance tolerably large, carrying a great crowd of sail. At 6 P. M. coming up with the chase fast, called all hands to quarters and got all clear for action. Could discover yellow sides and ports, which I took to be false ports. At 7 P. M. the ship began to take in sail. She took in her sky sails, royals, topgallant and lower studding sails. We took in sail also and furled the squaresail, going so directly before the wind had not an opportunity of seeing his broadside, distinctly. At half past 7 luffed up and gave him one of our bow guns, which he immediately returned with his stern chasers. We then closed and in a few minutes the action begun and was warmly contested on both sides—at 20 minutes before 10 P. M. we had all the running rigging, with the boom topinlift, shot away—was compelled to haul off to repair—At this time we had one killed and a number wounded. The ship had boarding nettings, reaching nearly up to her tops.

In a very short time we had repaired the damages and recommenced close action again, within half pistol shot, when he again shot away the boom top-in-lift. I was compelled to work the main boom with the peake haulyards. Made several attempts to board him but was not able to effect it. We kept up a continual fire on both sides; I shot across his bows and raked him several times, within 20 yards of him, but his tremendous height prevented much execution. At half past 12, midnight, fresh breeze; he now attempted to run us down, and so far succeeded as to run his jib-boom into our mainsail, a little below the gaff, and come with his bows against our stern, without doing any damage to our hull,

though he tore our mainsail all to pieces, broke the main gaff and unshipped the main boom. In this situation we attempted to board him, but could not succeed, he having quick way, and her height so great our men could scarcely touch the bobstays from our taffil rail; though notwithstanding we had several of our men almost on her bobstays. We shot several of his men who were on his bowsprit and forecastle, and took two of their boarding pikes from them as they reached down at us. He appeared to have many men on his forecastle, and splinter nets from his mainmast aft; hauled off again to repair, and bend another mainsail. At 1 A. M. had completely repaired and commenced close action again, which lasted till 3 A. M. at which time we had our jib stay, main shrouds, boom topinlift and fore gaff halyards shot away—his fire appeared considerably slackened, our braces, topsail halyards and main topsail sheets were also shot away, and the schooner was rendered almost unmanageable, many of the breechings of the guns parted. I thought proper to haul off till daylight; began repairing but found we were much more cut than I expected. The ship was about two miles from us at daylight, could count 14 ports on one side distinctly, guns in most of them. I determined to refit completely before I would again renew the action. The Islands of St. Croix, St. Thomas, St. John and Tortola in sight and at very little distance, I found the ship running before the wind, would drive me close to the harbour of St. Thomas, before I could refit, and renew the action, and my not being in a situation to stand a chase, should any men of war make their appearance, and from information I understood several were at St. Thomas, I very reluctantly abandoned the idea of again renewing the action.

We had 3 men killed and 16 wounded, myself among the number, at the commencement of the action, (tho' slightly). Mr. Edward Black, prize master, Mr. John Baney, masters mate and Thomas Selma, carpenter, were the three killed. Six men badly wounded, the master of marines amongst them, and 10 slightly wounded. Jan. 13th, close in under Spanish Town, Virgin Gorda, sent the boat armed to cut out several small vessels laying there—we destroyed one at anchor, and brought out two under a brisk fire of musketry from the inhabitants on shore, that had collected in a body. Both vessels were in ballast—we burnt one (a *la Chesapeake*) and sunk the other. On the 15th arrived at the port of St. Johns, Porto Rico, to repair and get wood, water, and provisions—was very kindly received by the Governor and allowed every privilege of hospitality I would expect.

On the 23 Jan. sailed from Porto Rico, and on the 27th took the English schooner *Venus* of St. Thomas, from Lagaira, loaded with coffee, cotton and cocoa, sent her for the U. States; the same day close under the Island of St. Croix, took the English sloop *General Spooner* of St. Croix; this vessel we took with our boat armed, close to the shore, the crew having deserted her a little before our boat boarded her; ordered this vessel for the U. S. Jan. 26th was chased across Drake's Bay, close to the town of Spanish Town, (Virgin Gorda) by a large man-of-war brig,

⁶¹ La Guira is in Venezuela.

carrying 20 guns, out sailed her with ease, and at midnight same night run back under Spanish Town and cut out a small sloop laying there. Jan. 29th we paroled the crew of the *Venus*, and sent them in the sloop to St. Thomas. Feb. 1, gave chase to two in the evening; next morning a very heavy gale of wind, kept sight of the chase, tho' far ahead of them and perhaps unseen by them, it blowing very heavy, too much so as to approach them with safety until the 3d in the morning, being to windward of them I bore down to reconnoitre, when I discovered them to be one a man-of-war brig convoying the other, that was a packet—upon trial found I could outsail them, with ease, edged close down to them within gun shot, showed the American flag and gave them a gun, which each of them returned. We exchanged several shot and then separated [*sic.*]. The man of war brig was called the *Wasp*. I then shaped my course southerly.

Feb. 6th. off Saba, fell in with the privateer *Mars* of New York, capt. Josiah Ingersoll. We cruized several days together in company and was chased twice very close but outsailed the chase. While in company we destroyed the sloop *Endeavour* of Anguilla, in ballast; parted company with him on the 12th, to the southward of St. Croix, he going to leeward for some repairs. He had taken one prize during his cruise. On the 13th gave chase to a brig, at 8 P. M. that evening while in chase sprung the foremast very badly, was compelled to abandon the chase, take in all sail and endeavour to secure the mast in the best possible manner. On the 16th. Feb. took the English sloop *General Pale* of Antigua from St. Thomas to Laguaira loaded with dry goods and wines, took out the dry goods and manned the sloop for New-Orleans. On the 19th arrived at St. Johns, Porto Rico, where we were compelled to go to refit and secure our mast—the evening before the *Pique* frigate was off that harbor looking for the *Comet*. On the 24th sailed from Porto Rico and on the 28th of Feb. off Curacoa took the English schooner *St. John* of Curacoa bound to St. Thomas loaded with salt, cocoa, hides, and goat skins, took out the cocoa and goat skins. 29th took the English schr. *Enterprize* off Curacoa in ballast; ransomed the *St. John*, paroled the crews of both vessels and then sunk the *Enterprize*. On the 5th March in the Mona Passage was chased by a large man of war brig and outsailed her with ease.⁶²

On the 19th, arrived at this place after a cruise of 5 months, and being chased during the time thirty-four times, by frigates and men-of-war brigs, but always outsailed them with ease.⁶³ The Admiral on the leeward Island station, offered considerable reward for the *Comet*, as being the

⁶² "American Prizes: nine vessels captured by the *Comet* of Baltimore, divested of their valuable articles, and sunk. The *Comet* is stated to have a handsome amount in cash and rich goods on board. Besides the above, she captured and manned four prizes—one of which has arrived. She had a terrible battle with the ship *Hibernia* of 800 tons, 22 guns, and a large complement of men, but was beaten off. The fight lasted about 8 hours. The great height and strength of the ship probably saved her. The privateer had 3 men killed and 16 wounded. The *Comet* put into Porto Rico [Puerto Rico] to refit, and the *Hibemia* has arrived at St. Thomas' both much injured" (*Niles' Register*, V [February 26, 1814], p. 430.)

⁶³ "The privateers *Comet* and *Chasseur* of Baltimore, with other vessels belong-

greatest plague to him or any vessel ever on those seas, but directed his smallest class of gun-vessels and schooners to always run from her.⁶⁴

List of prizes taken and destroyed during the Comet's present cruise.

Sloop Experiment, of Guadeloupe, in ballast, destroyed.

The schooner Messenger, of New York, recaptured, sent to the U. S.

Schooner Industry of New York, recaptured, sent to the U. S.

Schooner Little Cherub, of Surinam, sent with prisoners on parole.

Brig Hannah, of Bermuda, ransomed.

Schooner Jackman, of Barbadoes, do.

Sloop Industry, of Barbadoes, do.

Brig Enterprize of St. Kitts, ransomed.

Sloop Mary, of do. sent to the U. S.

Sch Vigilant, tender to Adm. Laforey, sent to U. States.

Three sch[ooner]s sunk, burnt and destroyed at Spanish Town.

Sch[ooner] Venus, of St. Thomas, sent to U. States.

Sloop General Spooner, of St. Croix, sent to U. States.

Sloop Experiment, of Tortola, released with prisoners on parole.

Sloop Endeavour of Anguella, destroyed.

Sloop General Wale, of Antigua, sent to New-Orleans. [*sic.*]

Schr. St. John of Curacoa, ransomed.

Sch[ooner] Enterprize, of ditto destroyed.

Making in the whole TWENTY SAIL taken, burnt, destroyed and sent to the United States.

THOMAS BOYLE

ing to this port, are doing a great business in the West Indies. It is stated that the former has taken nineteen prizes, one of which was a gun brig belonging to "his majesty." The Comet has been into port of Tortola, and cut out several vessels. The West Indies swarms with our privateers" (*Niles' Register*, VI [March 26, 1814], p. 69.)

⁶⁴ "The privateer schr. Comet of Baltimore, Thomas Boyle, Esq. commander, arrived at Beaufort, N. C. on the 19th inst. after a cruise of five months, in which as usual, she has done immense damage to the enemy's commerce. From Mr. James B. Stansbury, Surgeon of the Comet, who arrived in town on Saturday night last, from Beaufort, we learn that the Comet has captured during this cruise, Twenty sail of the enemy's vessels; 7 of which were manned and ordered for the United States, 4 ransomed and the rest destroyed. Of those ordered in, 3 have arrived at Wilmington, N. C., one of which was a tender to the British Adm. Laforey. The Comet had a severe engagement with the English Letter of Marque Ship Hibernia, of 22 guns, close in with the Island of St. Thomas, in the night of the 10th of Jan. and would certainly have captured her, as she was discovered at day light to be completely cut up in her hull and rigging; but both vessels were then so near in the enemy's harbor that Capt. Boyle was obliged to haul off without delay. In this action, the Comet had 3 men killed. The loss of the enemy could not be ascertained, but by appearances it must have been very great.

The Comet's cruising ground has been chiefly among the Leeward Island of the W. Indies, where her extraordinary and successful enterprize has kept the enemy in a perpetual state of alarm. Scarcely a day passed that some of his Majesty's cruisers were not despatched after her, but they returned with one story:—'they saw her, but could not *catch* her.' The merchants of St. Thomas subscribed a large reward for capture, but to no purpose; the *Saucy Comet* still continued to capture their vessels, in the very mouths of their harbors, and under the very guns of their forts and men of war. Except the famous privateer *True Blooded Yankee*, the Comet has done more injury to the commerce of the enemy since the war, than any of our cruisers" (*Baltimore Patriot*, April 1, 1814.)

COVER PICTURE

The original painting of the encounter between the *Star* and the *Surprise* is in the Peabody Museum of Salem. The following account of their battle, is taken from *Niles Weekly Register*, VIII (Mar.-Sept., 1815), 109:

1484. East India ship *Star*, captured by the same, as per the following extract from her log book: "Jan. 28, lat. 24, 10, long. 35, 50, saw a sail on our lee quarter and gave chase. At 11 A. M. got out the sweeps and swept toward the chase. At 45 minutes past meridian, being within half gun shot of the chase, which showed English colors, commenced action with her. At intervals we used sweeps, so as to get along side. The action then continued uninterrupted on the side of the enemy, and at times suspended on ours, until quarter past two, when we had gained a position across his stern, and being ready to give him a broadside and board, he struck his colors. The prize proved to be the British ship *Star*, of 8 12 pounders, and 26 men; she was from Batavia, bound to London, with a cargo of coffee, sugar, cinnamon, camphor, sago, nankeens, tortoise shell, &c. The *Star* had one man killed and one wounded, several shot in her hull, and received considerable damage in her spars, sails and rigging. We had several shot through the sails, one in the foremast and one in the foretopmast; but no personal injury. We put two prize masters and 18 men on board, and commenced taking out part of the cargo and repairing damages—29th, we were this day employed in taking goods out of the *Star*."

This valuable prize was parted with a little way off the coast on the 26th February, in a snow storm. The *Surprise* has arrived at New-York, with a cargo valued at \$150,000. Dec. 24, she arrived in the outward harbor of Brest; fired a salute, which was answered by 11 guns from the French admiral's ship. Jan. 9th, sailed from Brest—14th, was chased by a ship of war for several hours; she fired 100 shot at us, but we escaped in the night.

The *Star* arrived at New-York on the 28th February. Her cargo consisted of 1180 bags sugar, 5021 bags coffee, 45 tubs camphor, 297 bags sago, 224 cwt. Sapan wood, 22 bales nankees, 83 cases cinnamon, and 45 cases tortoise shells. The whole worth about \$300,000. It is said that this vessel really belonged to a member of a certain "committee of grievances" that recently visited Washington City. If it be so, she is doubly to be valued.

A BELGIAN ÉMIGRÉE LOOKS AT AMERICA IN THE EARLY NATIONAL PERIOD

By JOSEPH T. DURKIN, S. J.

TO hospitable Maryland there came, sometime in 1794, a Belgian nobleman named Henri Joseph Stier, with his family. M. Stier, as he would often remind one, was a "member of the Equestrian Order and of the States General of the Province of Antwerp." He had been denounced as an émigrée by the French forces of the Revolution then occupying his native land, and had suffered the confiscation of his estates. Buying land near Bladensburg, he soon was operating a moderately prosperous farm which he called Riverdale. On his return to a pacified Belgium in 1802 he left in America his two married daughters: Isabell, the elder, who was now Madame Jean Michel Van Havre; and Rosalie, who had become in 1799 the wife of George, son of Benedict Calvert, of Mount Airy, Prince George's County.¹

Rosalie Calvert, now the mistress of Riverdale, had chosen to spend the rest of her life in the United States; but she always viewed her adopted country a bit warily.

America, she conceded, had some good points. Her husband was certainly prospering, not only as a farmer but also as an investor in the rapidly-advancing industrial and financial activities of the area.² She admitted that the country had some excellent

¹ The parents of Henri Joseph Stier (1743-1821) were Albert Jean Stier (1701-1759) and Hélène de Labistraste (1717-1787). The latter, after her husband's death, obtained from the Empress Maria Theresa for her eldest son Jean François Stier, the title of Baron de Stier, "with the ornament of two flying pennants to the family coat of arms hereunto added." The Baron de Stier died without male issue in 1800. Henri Joseph married Marie Louise Peeters (1748-1804). From this union are descended the following branches: Charles Jean Stier married to Eugénie Van Erthorn; Isabell Marie Stier married to Jean Michel Van Havre, also a Member of the Equestrian Order and of the Estates General of the Province of Antwerp; Rosalie Eugénie Stier married to George Calvert. "Genealogy of the Stier Family," Some Letters of Mrs. George Calvert to Her Brother and other Relatives in Belgium, 1797-1819, with a Few Other Family Letters Connected with the Above, Ms, Georgetown University Archives.

² Rosalie to her brother Charles, Riverdale, July 23, 1810. This and the subse-

colleges and schools.³ The Philadelphia theatre compared favorably with that of Europe.⁴ She must have found many other features of American life agreeable, for her sister writes of her: "She affects to think the society and customs here infinitely preferable. It is true that she has caught the spirit of the land much more than we others, which is perhaps an advantage for her. In any event, I think she would be more attractive if she were less American!"⁵

Yet this description of her attitude is hardly correct. She never really seemed to feel at home on this side of the Atlantic. She handled America as one of her aristocratic forebears might have touched with fastidious finger tips an imitation Sèvres. From this ambivalent outlook her letters to her family derive a special interest.

There are features of the new land that definitely do not please Rosalie. She thinks that society in Washington is "very inferior." This, she believes, is due to the fact that most of the Government officials are Democrats and "people of low extraction."⁶ Nor, apparently, do the followers of Jefferson have a monopoly on bad manners. Included in Rosalie's letter book is her brother-in-law's account of an encounter with Justice Chase:

On leaving Baltimore the last person to enter the stage was a huge man with a stentorian voice. Behold Justice incarnate! He was Chase, one of the most prominent judges of Maryland, and the greatest cart-horse I ever knew! He landed himself in front of me and on top of me, and I had to turn sideways and thrust my elbow in his back. The man having evidently had the lion's share everywhere, did not find me so complaisant and took exception to my posture. I replied spiritedly that I was in my right place and he should confine himself to his. If there had been a retort to this the discussion would have grown heated, but he did not allow me to continue. "Never mind, never mind," was his reply. However he did not change his posture, and it may have been through antipathy to his profession that I called his attention to my discomfort. Finally he complied with my request, but woe to my pleas before the Supreme Court!⁷

quent letters used in this study are taken from the collection previously mentioned. Unless otherwise noted the place from which the letters are written is Riverdale. In some instances the correspondent in dating the letter indicates only the month and year.

³ *Ibid.*, Apr. 1, 1809.

⁴ *Ibid.*, May 5, 1808.

⁵ Isabell (Madame Van Havre) to Charles, n. p., Mar. 1, 1803.

⁶ Rosalie to Charles, Jan. 1807.

⁷ Jean Michel Van Havre to Charles, Annapolis, Nov. 23, 1797.

After such experiences as this it was probably easier for Rosalie's relatives to follow her injunction, "One must differentiate oneself a little from the mob, in order to be respected by them."⁸

Rosalie does not like the manners of the American young girls.⁹ This unfavorable opinion she does not develop; she seems even to contradict it in an earlier report on the modesty of female dress in America. She contrasts the "clinging" style of costume of France with the more restrained American type: "In this more virtuous land only the contours are perceived through filmy batiste—a subtler fashion."¹⁰ (The reward of such moderation is suggested negatively by the fate of one Betsy Cook, who was brought to death's door by a cold caught at a ball where she wore a "Greek dress.")¹¹

The moral propriety of American ladies is further indicated by another incident reported by M. Van Havre. On the docket of the Maryland Assembly was an appeal for divorce in a marital case marked by some particularly spectacular circumstances. As the proceedings began the delegates noticed that the gallery was largely feminine, "of an inferior sort." The case was postponed while the ladies were escorted beyond earshot.¹²

To Rosalie, the American manner of serving dinners is inferior to that of the French. Here meats and vegetables are served together. One has not time to eat sufficiently before half the dishes are cold, so one must hurry to swallow everything as if one had not dined for a month. Rosalie primly lays down the law: "Nothing cold should come on for the first course, and the rotis before the stews."¹³

Yet, Rosalie in a postscript to these culinary observations, shows how she is being affected by American ideas: "As in this country everyone does as he likes I am going to introduce quite a new mode. I shall take the best fashions from the different

⁸ Rosalie to Charles, Jan. 1807.

⁹ *Ibid.*, April 1, 1809.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, Mount Alban, Mar. 7, 1802.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² M. Van Havre to Henri Joseph Stier, Annapolis, Sept. 1797.

¹³ Rosalie to Charles, Dec. 1, 1806.—Rosalie's prescription for keeping the courses separate is obviously opposed to that of another American gourmet. Says Huckleberry Finn, with regard to the way the widow Douglas served meals: "There warn't really anything the matter with them [the widow's victuals.] That is, nothing only everything was cooked by itself. In a barrel of odds and ends it is different; things get mixed up, and the juice kind of swaps around, and the things go better" (Mark Twain, *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* [New York, 1956], p. 2.)

countries.”¹⁴ Although she did not realize it, she was applying in a limited field the typical American formula for progress.

Indeed there appears in her letters at times a pride in the material advances that were being made in America. “You have no idea,” she confides to her brother in the mid-summer of 1810, “how this country has improved since you left [in 1802]. We have all the luxury of Europe. . . . In the towns the change is astonishing. . . .”¹⁵ And, shortly afterward: “Come and see what we are doing. You would be astonished with the changes such a few years have wrought in customs as well as in breeding, etc. We have advanced a whole century in five years time.”¹⁶ But, she adds, “We . . . have lost that simplicity which was worth far more.”¹⁷ She is concerned at what she considers the greatest failing of the Americans—their heartlessness. They do not seem to feel anything deeply and are too prudent and reasonable to be lovable.¹⁸

Deep-rooted in Rosalie’s mind is a distrust of the political stability of the United States. (It must be remembered that she is a thorough-going Federalist who could never reconcile herself to the outlook and policies of the party of Jefferson.) She writes towards the end of 1808, while the embargo is in force: “We are alarmed from time to time about the national bonds. People dare to speak openly of the dissolution of the union of the States. I am often anxious on this subject. . . . Perhaps I am a false prophet . . . but it appears very certain that a government such as this can last only a short time. Every year they change something, the eastern States become daily more bitter against the southern States, and the latter instead of consolidating them [*sic*] do all they can to widen the breach. . . . If Madison continues the same system as Jefferson, we shall be on the brink of civil war.”¹⁹

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, July 23, 1810.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 1811, n. m.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, July 23, 1810.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, Jan. 1807, n. d.—See, however, the statement of Alexis de Tocqueville: “The Americans . . . show with complacency how an enlightened regard for themselves constantly prompts them to assist one another and inclines them willingly to sacrifice a portion of their time and property to the welfare of the state. . . . Each American knows when to sacrifice some of his private interests to save the rest. . . .” (*Democracy in America*, Phillips Bradley, ed., 2 vol. [New York, 1951], II, 122-123.)

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, Dec. 10, 1808.

A few months later she is still pessimistic. Madison, she grieves, is a "wretched" President and "one of those wavering weak characters" who will do as much harm as his predecessors. The government and the Federal Union cannot exist without a respectable navy, and the Democrats are opposed to such a fighting force. The country has reached an alarming crisis. Congress is enacting laws which she is unable to enforce, and is obliged to restrict them afterwards, only to substitute equally bad ones. Our flag is being insulted on the high seas by England and France. And all this is the result of the administration of "that wretched Jefferson."²⁰

It is Rosalie's conviction that the source of the country's troubles is the bitter strife between the two parties, which are divided on sectional lines.²¹—"It is absolutely necessary that we should smother party feuds . . . or they will destroy us in the end."²²

As the War of 1812 draws near, Rosalie's apprehensions increase. Early in 1811 she fears that a revolution is imminent.²³ A few months later she has even graver misgivings:

I cannot conceal from you [she is writing to her sister, Madame Van Havre] that my fears as to the stability of our constitution augment every moment. I foresee an inevitable revolution and I fear its near approach. Do not think these idle crotchets; the best informed and most weighty people are of my opinion, and it is that of the most prominent Senators and Members of Congress. A war with England which our government will provoke will be the prelude, and it is to be anticipated that the Eastern States will put themselves under the protection of that power. What will then become of the Southern States? They will be either torn asunder by anarchy or fall prey to Napoleon.²⁴

The war came, and the nation survived it. Rosalie breathes some sighs of relief in early 1815, but she is still worrying. If, she thinks, peace had not been concluded, the national bonds and all the banks would have "gone to nothing." If now the country could get rid of the Democratic administration and have a President of the Federalist party, economic recovery would ensue. Meanwhile, the people are being taxed unbearably. It is Rosalie's firm conviction that "if the Democratic party continues to rule, a dissolution of the Union will be the result sooner or later."²⁵

²⁰ *Ibid.*, Apr. 1, 1809.

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² *Ibid.*, Sept. 8, 1809.

²³ Rosalie to Madame Van Havre, date not indicated, but certainly, as indicated by context, sometime before April 1, 1811.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, July 15, 1811.

²⁵ Rosalie to Charles, March 10, 1815.

However, while the Republic stood, Rosalie and her family were determined to get the most out of it. The Stiers—including Henri Joseph and his son, both now living in Belgium—were active and constant investors in United States government bonds and private United States banks and corporations. Rosalie's letters are a useful commentary on the participation of European private capital in the attractive though often perilous financial enterprises of the new country.

Her father and brother use Rosalie as their intermediary in buying United States government bonds and stock in the Bank of the United States.²⁶ She reports to Charles in the late summer of 1809 that there are now on the market no 6% interest bearing bonds, but that there will probably be such available soon. (The shrewd Henri Joseph recognized a good thing when he saw it. On his side of the Atlantic, 6% bonds were about as scarce as politically-successful Bourbons.) The observant Rosalie has also discovered a private bank in Washington that may provide a few rich returns. She suggests that they take a chance with it with a part of their February dividends.²⁷

Charles seems to prefer the Bank of the United States for his own speculations.²⁸ By his orders Rosalie ploughs back into more stock purchases in that institution his dividends of the following month.²⁹

Rosalie possessed, apparently, a streak of the long-shot gambler. She is not satisfied with a 6% return from the generally safer Government bonds, but wishes to take a flyer with private banks as they give an even higher interest.³⁰ Many of these latter were the notorious "wild cat" institutions whose dangerous operations it was one of the primary functions of the Bank of the United States to control. Rosalie however is willing to take the risk for the reward.

The financial negotiations of the Stiers suffered a jar in one instance, with the chief inconvenience falling on Rosalie's husband.

The story began in the fall of 1810 when Charles sent \$8,500 worth of his 8% United States Government bonds to George

²⁶ This bank was a private one, though specially favored by the Government.

²⁷ Rosalie to Charles, Sept. 8, 1809.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, Sept. 1, 1809.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ *Ibid.*, April, 1811.

Calvert to be cashed at the Treasury Office in Philadelphia. The crucial mistake of Charles was that he mailed to his brother-in-law not the original certificates but only copies of the same.⁸¹

On presenting the latter to the Treasury officials in the following January, Mr. Calvert was informed that bonds were redeemable only on submission of the original certificates. Meanwhile the Calverts had learned that the originals had been either destroyed or lost by Charles. Rosalie's determined husband took the case to the Secretary of the Treasury himself. He was told by that dignitary—the efficient Mr. Gallatin—that under the regulations Mr. Stier would receive his money only if Mr. Calvert should post a guarantee or forfeit of \$16,000, almost twice the value of the bonds. This demand was met at once by George. Three years later he is still trying—delicately but persistently—to recoup his money from Charles.⁸²

A contributing cause of the embarrassing situation was the incredible slowness of the mails between Europe and America. If the means of communication between the Calverts and their impatient relatives in Antwerp had been swifter, the whole impasse might have been cleared up in a reasonably short time. But the vicissitudes of letters sent across the ocean were incalculable.

As an example of the difference in the speeds of the postal service of the jet age and that of the early nineteenth century: on April 1, 1809, Rosalie writes that she has just received two of Charles' letters dated July 5 and November 24 of the previous year.⁸³ And, in direct reference to the affair of the missing certificates: "I received your letter of the 24th of December, 1809 [she informs Charles under date of July 23, 1810]. . . . Our correspondence became intricate. I wrote to you the twentieth of March [apparently 1810], and I hope you have received that letter in which there are accounts and business details which would be interesting for you. As it may have been lost I must repeat here that you must send me without delay all the certificates you have of the 8% stock. This stock became redeemable the first of January 1809, so you have lost the interest since that time. Send duplicates and a list of the numbers of the sums, etc. of the certificates, in case they should be lost."⁸⁴

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, Nov. 1810.

⁸² *Ibid.*, Dec. 27, 1814.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, April 1, 1809.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, July 23, 1810.—There occurred another incident which highlighted the

Rosalie's doubts about the permanence of the American Union and her worries over financial matters are closely fused as the War of 1812 becomes her chief preoccupation.

The country is at the mercy of the English fleet, she announces to Charles in the late winter of 1813, and civil war is almost a certainty. A flotilla of two English ships of 74 cannon, and six frigates are closing the entry of the Chesapeake and Delaware and are permitting no vessels to pass in or out. There is nothing to prevent the English from reducing all our ports to ashes. The moderation of the enemy in contenting himself with such a blockade is, she thinks, surprising. She trembles for the future of her children.³⁵ If the war continues, she fears, the Government bonds will decrease to nothing. Hence Charles should, as far as possible, deal with private banks and corporations, especially the turnpike companies and the Bank of Washington, of which latter, incidentally, Mr. Calvert is a director.³⁶

There is a general stagnation of all business as 1814 draws to a close.³⁷ All work on the Calvert farm has been at a standstill during the past two years. Their tobacco harvest of the last several years is rotting in the storehouse. Every commodity has doubled or tripled in price. And all this distress is due to the "abominable" war.³⁸

The financial condition of the country is at an all-time low. There is not a single dollar in circulation south of Boston, and the banks have agreed to pay only in paper. A person traveling from Maryland to Massachusetts must exchange Washington notes for Baltimore notes at par; at Philadelphia he loses 5% on his Baltimore notes; he must convert his Philadelphia notes at New York, and his New York notes at Boston.³⁹ Only peace with England, says Rosalie, can bring a return to normalcy.

Peace finally came. Rosalie is feeling better about financial affairs in the fall of 1819. But the bank panic of that year, as described in her letters, provides further proof of the need for

inconvenience caused by the tardy mails. Charles had asked one Richard Scott to act as his proxy in voting in the meetings of the board of a bank in which they were both directors. When Scott began to form a cabal to oust from the board the father of one of Charles' best friends, it took several months for Rosalie's warning to reach her brother. In the meantime Charles' vote was being used by Scott to damage the Stiers' friend (Rosalie to Charles, Nov. 1810).

³⁵ Rosalie to Charles, Feb. 24, 1813.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, Apr. 11, 1813.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, Dec. 27, 1814.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, Feb. 18, 1814.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, Dec. 27, 1814.

the stabilizing influence of the Bank of the United States, so ably defended by John Marshall at that time in his *McCulloch vs. Maryland* decision.⁴⁰

So Rosalie Calvert made her frank reports on America, as she acted out her part of wife and mother and capable housekeeper and—despite occasional qualms—good citizen. By the time of her death she and George had been blessed with six children. The last important communication in her letter-book was not written by herself but by her daughter Caroline:

My dear Uncle [Charles]:

You ask me the details of the last illness and of the end of my dear Mother. She was obliged to keep to her bed from the beginning of the winter on account of that lameness which I believe she described to my Aunt Van Havre. At first we hoped that she would be cured, but I think she herself felt her end was approaching; but this moment had no terrors for one who had for several years regulated her life by the laws of Holy Scripture. During the intervals of cessation of pain she was busied in giving directions to her gardner, and even separated a quantity of seeds herself and said where and how she wished them to be planted. She instructed us in a most careful way in the management of the household. The day before her death she gave something to every one of her friends who surrounded her and to all her servants. She consigned her children to their father and to the care of the Almighty.⁴¹

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, Sept. 19, 1819.

⁴¹ Caroline Calvert to her uncle Charles, July 27, 1821.

TALBOT COUNTY QUAKERISM IN THE COLONIAL PERIOD

By KENNETH L. CARROLL

QUAKERISM in Talbot County antedates by several years the establishment of the county itself *circa* 1661. Friends were probably among the very first to receive grants in this area in the late 1650's. Maryland Quakerism received its start, in 1656, when Elizabeth Harris of London made her way to the Chesapeake Bay area just four years after the birth of Quakerism in England. Most of her "convincements" appear to have been in the vicinity of Annapolis and on Kent Island.¹ Elizabeth Harris was soon followed, in 1658, by Josiah Cole and Thomas Thurston and, in 1659, by Christopher Holder, Robert Hodgson, and William Robinson. The success of these traveling Quakers was so great that the Governor and Council of Maryland were alarmed and ordered that in the future such people who were guilty of "diswading the People from Complying with the Military discipline in this time of Danger and also from giving testimony or being Jurors" should be "whipped from Constable to Constable" until they were sent out of the colony.²

As the white inhabitants began spreading from Kent Island and from the already occupied parts of the Western Shore into the newly opened areas of the Eastern Shore of Maryland, Talbot County came to be settled. Undoubtedly among these newly arrived settlers were to be found some Friends from the Kent or Severn Quaker centers. Almost immediately they were joined by a great influx of Virginia Quakers escaping from a very harsh persecution. In the March 1659/60 session of the Virginia Assembly,

¹ Rufus M. Jones, *The Quakers in the American Colonies* (London, 1911), pp. 266-268. See also Kenneth L. Carroll, "Maryland Quakers in the Seventeenth Century," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XLVII (1952), 297-313.

² *Archives of Maryland*, III, 362. There is no record of this sentence ever having been enforced.

there had been passed an "Act for the suppression of Quakers."³ Other laws similar in nature and purpose appeared in the next two or three years—designed to strengthen the Established (Anglican) Church in Virginia.

Friends living in Northampton and Accomack Counties on the Eastern Shore of Virginia and in Lancaster and neighboring counties in the main part of Virginia fled to neighboring Maryland. For the most part these Virginia exiles settled along the Choptank River in Talbot County, on the shores of the Patapsco in Baltimore County, and in Somerset County at the bottom of Maryland's Eastern Shore. Among these coming to Talbot County from Virginia were Walter Dickinson, Richard and Lovelace Gorsuch, Howell and Thomas Powell, and probably Philip Stevenson.⁴

There exists little information concerning the first few years of The Society of Friends' existence in Talbot County, for the extant records of Third Haven Monthly Meeting begin in the first month, 1676. Quaker journals, land records, and court records provide what little knowledge that remains.

It appears that by the middle of the 1660's there had arisen four main Quaker centers in Talbot County—on the "Michael's" (Miles) River,⁵ at Bayside just above Tilghman's Island, on the Choptank River near Dividing and Island Creeks, and on the Tuckahoe at King's Creek near Matthewstown. Of these the one on the Miles River was perhaps the strongest, for it was the first to build a meeting house. This building, erected sometime during the 1660's and called Betty's Cove Meeting House, was the first church or building of worship erected in the new county. By 1672, it had proved to be too small and had already been enlarged in order to accommodate the growing Quaker congregation living in this area. George Fox, in his second visit to Talbot, in 1672, wrote that this building could not contain the people "though they had not long before enlarged their meeting place, and made it as large again, as it was before."⁶ It may have been enlarged once

³ George MacLaren Brydon, *Virginia's Mother Church and the Political Conditions Under Which It Grew* (Richmond, 1947), p. 192.

⁴ *Archives of Maryland*, LIV, xxi, xxiv.

⁵ Quakers did not use the title "saint."

⁶ *Journal of George Fox; Being an Historical Account of the Life, Travels, Sufferings, Christian Experiences, and Labours of Love, in the Work of the Ministry*

more, for the first extant records of Talbot Quakers, dated the 24th of the 1st Month, 1676, show a decision to complete the meeting house at Betty's Cove:

to Seale the Gable End and the loft with Clapboard and Make a partition betwixt the new Roome and the old three foot high seiled and with windows to Lift up and Down, and to be hung with hinges according to the discretion of Bryan Omealy and John Pitt who are appointed by the meeting to have the Oversight of the same and to be done with what Conveniency may be.⁷

George Fox, the founder of Quakerism, gives us a view of Talbot County Quakerism in the third quarter of the seventeenth century. He speaks of the many people who "received the truth with gladness" during his first visit, in April, 1672. Upon his return to Talbot County, in September, 1672, after a horse-back trip to New England, he held a meeting on the 18th at Robert Harwood's house on the Miles River and on the 19th was at the home of John Edmondson, the great Quaker merchant who lived on Third Haven (Tredhaven, Tred Avon) Creek. On First Day (Sunday) he proceeded three or four miles by water (to Betty's Cove, in all probability) where there was present a judge's wife who had not attended a Friends meeting before. She was "reached" and later exclaimed "she had rather hear us once than the priest a thousand times."

After a brief trip outside Talbot County, George Fox returned to John Edmondson's home on Third Haven to attend the General Meeting for all Maryland Friends, held alternatively every six months at West River near Annapolis and Third Haven in Talbot County. Fox records that the first three days of this five-day General Meeting were spent in public worship to which came "many Protestants of divers sorts, and some Papists; amongst these were several magistrates and their wives, and other persons of chief account in the county." There were so many people who came to these meetings that Fox, in describing his daily trip by water to the meeting, wrote

of that Eminent and Faithful Servant of Jesus Christ, who Departed this Life, in Great Peace with the Lord, the 13th of the 11th Month, 1690 (London, 1891), II, 179. Quaker marriage records show this building to have been in existence as early as 1669.

⁷ Minutes of Third Haven Monthly Meeting of Friends, MS, I, 1, Hall of Records, Annapolis, hereafter referred to as Third Haven Minutes.

... and there were so many boats at that time passing upon the river that it was almost like the Thames. The people said, 'there were never so many boats seen there together before.' And one of the Justices said, 'he never saw so many People together in that country before.' It was a heavenly meeting.⁸

Fox's note of the "persons of chief account" who attended his meetings reminds one of the same tendency exhibited by the author of the New Testament book of Acts. One of the signs of "success" of a new movement is the number of influential persons it attracts. It appears that Talbot County Quakerism had its share of such people almost from the beginning. Richard Gorsuch and Thomas Powell became Justices of Talbot County. Philip Stevenson was on the Court of Talbot County in 1665. Howell Powell and John Dickinson were among the most prominent planters in the county,⁹ and John Edmondson was a very wealthy merchant and planter.¹⁰

By 1670 Talbot County had become the home of Wenlock Christison (Christerson) who had figured prominently in the Boston persecution of Quakers and who, in 1660, had been sentenced to be hanged. Shortly after receiving this sentence, he was pardoned and released from prison. Four years later, in 1664, he received ten lashes in each of three towns in Massachusetts and then was driven into the wilderness. After a period spent in Barbados, he made his way to Talbot County, settling on Fausley Creek, a branch of the Miles River. He became a very influential leader and minister among the Quakers of the central part of the Eastern Shore; and, for a time, one of the meetings was held in his home.¹¹ Wenlock Christison was one of the members depended upon by Talbot Quakers to prepare a petition for the Assembly of Maryland asking that Friends be relieved of the necessity of taking oaths. This petition, drawn up by Christison, William Berry, and two other Friends, asked that an affirmation be sub-

⁸ Fox, *op. cit.*, II, 168, 178-179.

⁹ *Archives of Maryland*, LIV, xxi, xxiv.

¹⁰ See Frank B. Edmundson and Emmerson B. Roberts, "John Edmondson—Large Merchant of Tred Haven Creek," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, L (1955), 219-234.

¹¹ Samuel A. Harrison's *Wenlock Christison, and the Early Friends in Talbot County, Maryland* (Baltimore, 1878) contains an interesting account of Christison. This monograph, included in Oswald Tilghman, *History of Talbot County, Maryland, 1661-1861* (Baltimore, 1915), is largely based on George Bishope's somewhat colored *New England Judged*.

stituted for an oath (already permitted in New Jersey, Rhode Island, and Jamaica). The Burgesses voted to grant this right, but the Council refused to concur.¹² Years and much suffering were to pass before this right was to be granted.

It is not until the start of the final quarter of the seventeenth century that a fuller picture of Talbot Quaker history is to be had, for it was on the 24th of 1st month, 1676, that Talbot Friends began the series of business meeting minutes which are still extant and which are complete down to the present time. The life of the movement becomes much clearer before our gaze as a result of these records.

In addition to the completion of the recently enlarged Betty's Cove Meeting House already referred to, Talbot Friends, in 1676 were interested in Quaker books which they might circulate. Therefore it is recorded that

It is though fitt by the meeting that a Stock be Kept amongst Friends to pay for Books and to be dispensed of as friends Shall See need from time to time for y^e Service of Truth Every Friend being Left to his own Liberty and Freedom what to give.¹³

Those Friends who subscribed 4,750 pounds of tobacco for this purpose were probably the wealthier members of the Society at that time: William Berry, Bryan Omealy, John Pitt, Howell Powell, Ralph Fishbourne, Thomas Taylor, John Edmondson, William Southbee, John Jadwin, Henry Woolchurch, James Hall, William Sharp, John Pemberton, Henry Parrott, John Dickinson, Charles Gorsuch, Alexander Nash, and Obadiah Judkins. Mention is made on the 21st of the 1st month, 1679, of paying "a hh^d of tobacco" for books received from William Richardson. On the 24th of the 5th month, 1691, it was recorded that "this meeting Received a parcell of bookes which came from our Deare friend and Brother George Fox before his Death as a Token of his Love."¹⁴

Still another matter which concerned Talbot Friends was the establishment of burial places. Therefore on the 29th of the 9th month, 1676, it was "concluded by the meeting that Friends be-

¹² J. Saurin Norris, *The Early Friends (Or Quakers) in Maryland* (Baltimore, 1862), p. 19; John Fiske, *Old Virginia and Her Neighbors* (Boston, 1898), II, 153.

¹³ Third Haven Minutes, I, 1.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 14, 113.

longing to Michaels River meeting [Betty's Cove] doe by the first conveniency gett them a bur-ing place Securely pailed in by the meeting-house." At the same time Tuckahoe meeting was instructed to "get them a Bur-ing place Securely pailed in for their own conveniency."¹⁵

With the acquisition of burial places came the necessity of deciding which people might be placed to rest in these spots. The occasion which brought about a plan of action occurred in 1st month, 1679:

It so happened that Richard Hall did lay the body of a man in friends burieing place, that was in no wise in unity with the Truth nor friends but rather averse to Both and in as Much as friends have no unity with the Same the meeting hath advised that for the future the like may not be done and that none may be admitted to have a buriall with friends but Such who are close with or own the Truth in their life time in Some measure.¹⁶

Such decisions led to careful examination of members. Friends were to determine:

- 1) If Any walk not in the Truth that have beene Convinced and goe From the truth and is not faithful in their Testimony in Every particular.
- 2) If any follow Drunkenness, pleasures or Gameing or is not faithful in their callings and Dealings nor honest and just.
- 3) If any go disorderly together in Marriage.
- 4) If any widdows have Children and doe Intend to Marry to Enquire what She hath Done for her Children.
- 5) If widdows have Children to put forth—prentices or Servant to take Care to Ease Them if they be Burthened.
- 6) If any go to the Priest or Magistrate to be Married.
- 7) If any wear their hatts on when Friends prays in ye power of God in Opposition to the Power of God.
- 8) [If] All Friends to take Notice of the Poore to Ease one another.
- 9) If any men or women Hunt after one another and then Leave one another and goe to Others.
- 10) If any Evill Speakers, Backbiters, Slanderers, foolish Jesters or Talkers.
- 11) If there be any Tale Carriers and Railers that Loves Dissention.
- 12) If any differences between Friends to be Speedily Ended.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, I, 7.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, I, 14.

- 13) [If] All Friends to Traine up their Children in the feare of the Lord and good Order of Truth.
- 14) [If] Friends to buy Convenient Burying Places.
- 15) [If] Friends to Buy Convenient Books for Registering Birthes, Burialls, Marriages and all other things appertaining to the Order of Truth.
- 16) [If] Friends should take Spetiall Care and not be Slack in Comeing together to Meeting betwixt the 10th or 11th Hour which is the time appointed.¹⁷

A measure of growth is indicated by the fact that in the last half of the seventeenth century Talbot Friends felt the need to build additional meeting houses. As their numbers continued to grow, the homes in which it had been customary to meet soon proved unsatisfactory. Betty's Cove Meeting House on the Miles River was the earliest to be built—sometimes in the 1660's. The dates at which other meeting houses were erected is uncertain, though mention of the meeting house at Tuckahoe (near what is now Matthewstown) is found in 1679. In 1690, there arose some question about the clearness of the title to the land on which this building was located, so that the meeting appointed John Ashdell, John Pitt, and John Jadwin to meet with Benjamin Parrott in order to straighten up this matter. Some years earlier, in 1682, a search was made into the clearness of the title of the land at the Betty's Cove Meeting House.¹⁸

On the 24th of the 4th month, 1681, Talbot Quakers decided that a "halfe yeare meeting house be builded upon John Edmondson's land according to the advice of the Halfe Year-Meeting at Westriver and that it be built upon the most convenient Point for a good Landing." The building instructions set by the meeting were as follows:

That the house be builded 40 foote Long and 22 foote wide: and 20 foote Long and 22 foote wide against the broad Side of the aforesaid 40 foote house in the form of a T and to be good Substantable Work and petitioned Most suitable for the accomodation of friends both at halfe year and quarterly meeting according to the discretion of those friends hereafter Named who are appointed by this Meeting to have the Oversight of the Same So as to procure work-men, Receive the Nayles that friends

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, I, 3, 4. It was decided on the 20th of the 4th month, 1677, that First Day meetings should begin about the "Eleaventh Hour."

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, I, 39, 54, 109.

bring in, and Mannage the whole concern which friends are W^m Southbee, Rich^d Michell, Lovelace Gorsuch, Ralph Fishbourn, Bryon Omealie, John Edmondson, John Pitt, and Henry Woolchurch and that Said friends doe agree to go ther for the Effecting of the Same with as Much speed as conveniently may be ¹⁹

This was the first of several decisions which eventually led to the building of beautiful old Third Haven Meeting House which today still stands in the town of Easton. By the spring of 1682, the meeting had bargained with William Southbee for "Some Planck at y^e price of one pound of Tobacco per foote" and instructed Richard Mitchell and Emanuel Jenkinson to receive it, measure it, and to give an account of the quality of it to the next quarterly meeting. That same month Southbee was instructed to sell the fifteen "Barrles of corn" which he was holding for Friends and to pay himself for his "planck." ²⁰

On the 27th of the 8th month, 1682, the meeting appointed William Southbee, Henry Woolchurch, William Sharp, Lovelace Gorsuch, and William Stevens, Jr. to purchase three acres from John Edmondson for the meeting house and "to gett a firm conveyance for it with free Regress and progress to y^e said Land according to a Deed of uses." They also requested John Edmondson that he accord "y^e aforesd friends advise together for y^e most convenient place upon Said Land to Sett y^e house upon and also to agree with y^e carpenter or carpenters for y^e Building of y^e Said house." At this time the plans and dimensions of the building were changed so that it was to be

60 foote long and 22 foote wide and to be Strong Substantiall framed work with good white Oak ground Sills and posts with girders and y^e Roofe to be Double Raftred and good principle Rafters Every to foote and to be Double Studded below, and to be well Braced, and windowes convenient and Shutters and good Large Staires into y^e Chambers which Chambers are to be 20 foote Square at Each End of y^e house so y^t they may be entire and 20 foote vacant betwixt them for other Conveniencies to be Left to the Discretion of y^e aforesaid friends. ²¹

John Salter was chosen as the carpenter to erect this frame meeting house. The work seems to have been fairly well along when a committee met with him in the 9th month, 1683, to "Secure y^e finishing of y^e great meeting-house." On the 9th month

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, I, 41.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, I, 48.

²¹ *Ibid.*, I, 52.

of the 3rd month, 1684, the meeting expressed a concern that the building had not yet been finished and "y^e time drawing nigh in which it should be finished this meeting advises y^t John Salter be writt to as from this meeting to put him in mind to perform his covenant according to his Bond." A month later it was reported that Salter "alledged y^t y^e wettness of y^e weather prevented y^e Sawing of y^e plank" but promised that he would finish it as quickly as possible and also said that if he had been "defective in not doeing his work according to agreement" he would make "Reasonable Satisfaction."²²

The first meeting to be held in the new Third Haven Meeting House was on the 24th of the 8th month, 1684, although the building had not been completely finished by that time. On the 28th of the 6th month, 1685, the meeting was still trying to get Salter to do "y^e work that is Still undone on y^e meeting house." For this purpose,

This meeting has agreed to give Wm Troth Six hundred pounds of tobacco for a good Barren Cow for provisions for y^e Carpenter . . . , and Jn^o Edmondson has supplied the Carpenter with a bushell of wheate, Wm Troth a bushell of corn, Ralph Fishbourn a bushell of corn, Wm Sharp a bushell of corn, Henry Woolchurch 1/2 bushell of wheate and John Pitt 1/2 Bushell of wheate, the provissions for y^e workman to be Dressed att Jeophrey Horneys.²³

Later that year, in the 9th month, the meeting decided that John Salter had been overpaid by the sum of 1370 pounds of tobacco which it felt that he should return.²⁴ By this time the building had probably been finished to the satisfaction of the meeting.

This "great meeting house" was originally built to house the General (or Half Yearly) Meeting, which was held every six months at West River near Annapolis and at Third Haven. Some years were to pass before regular weekly meetings for worship were to be held there. By 1690, a "house for conveniency" was erected at the creekside near the meeting house at the cost of four hogshheads of tobacco. Several years later a similar building was erected at West River for "y^e Conveniency of Eastern Shore friends" who contributed to its cost.²⁵

It seems quite clear that Choptank Friends did not possess a

²² *Ibid.*, I, 61, 64-65.

²³ *Ibid.*, I, 73.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 75.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, I, 112, 121.

meeting house, in 1682, when the Monthly Meeting agreed with the decision of Choptank Quakers to hold their weekly meeting "but att three perticular houses viz^t W^m Sharpes, W^m Stevens-s and W^m Dickensons." On the 27th of the 4th month, 1690, there is found reference to a monthly business meeting held "at our meeting-house at Will^m Stevens in Dividing Creek." This is rather puzzling in the light of minutes of the 30th of the 5th month, 1696, when it is reported that

Several friends of Choptank meeting acquaints this meeting that they have Unanimously agreed upon a place to Build a meeting house (vizt.) upon William Stevens Land and desire the assent of this meeting which assent is freely and Readily given thereto this meeting having good unity with the Same and desires they may be Expeditious in building Said meeting-house.²⁶

Betty's Cove Meeting, on the Miles River near the old Dixon home at "North Bend," was the first Talbot meeting to have a house of worship. Yet the group did not last the century as a regular meeting. In 1691, it was reported that there was a "slackness in friends belonging to bettys cove meeting in keeping their weekly meeting." The Monthly Meeting asked all Friends concerned "to be more dilligent for time to come in keeping both to First days and weekly meetings which is really a Duty incumbent upon the professors of Truth."²⁷

In 1692, it was proposed by the Bettys Cove assembly to remove "to Our great meeting house at y^e head of Tradhavan creek." After asking the advice of the Quarterly and Yearly Meetings, the Monthly Meeting approved this change on the 27th of the 1st month, 1693. On the 1st of the 12th month, 1694, the meeting agreed to pay Thomas Booker sixteen hundred pounds of Tobacco for "pailing in y^e grave yard at Bettys Cove."²⁸

Probably the Friends at Bayside met in the home of Ralph Fishbourne until nearly the end of the seventeenth century. The meeting house there was built sometime before 1697, when it was recorded at the county court, though no marriages are reported there until 1700. There is no information in the minutes of the Monthly Meeting giving a more definite date.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, I, 47, 108, 144. Several weddings were held in the Choptank meeting house in 1698.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, I, 115-116.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, I, 120, 124, 133.

James Ridley and James Berry were appointed by the Monthly Meeting, in 1695, "to gett all y^e meeting houses in Talbot County put upon y^e County Records according to Law." Therefore, when the Governor and Council, in 1697, ordered the sheriffs of each county to list the location and type of place of worship belonging to the Quakers, it was recorded that Talbot County Quakers had "a small meeting house" at Ralph Fishbourne's (Bayside) and at Howell Powell's (Choptank) and another one between Kings Creek and Tuckahoe. These were clapboard houses "about twenty feet long." A larger one, "about fifty feet long" was at the head of Tredhaven Creek (Third Haven). John Pitt and James Ridley reported to the Monthly Meeting that they had appeared "at a Court held for Talbot County" about the 22nd of the 7th month, 1698, and "desired of y^e said Court to have all our publick meeting places and houses in this County Recorded which was granted by y^e Court."²⁹

Talbot County Quakerism, at the dawn of the eighteenth century, was strong and expanding. Third Haven Monthly Meeting of Friends included four Weekly or Preparative Meetings within the county: Bayside, Choptank, Third Haven, and Tuckahoe, each of which was well-established by the year 1700, possessing its own meeting house and constituency. The century just beginning was to be one of further growth for the Monthly Meeting and its member meetings, just as it was for the Society of Friends as a whole.

As an evidence, early in the eighteenth century there appears to have arisen a desire to reopen the old Betty's Cove Meeting which had been closed in the 1690's when its membership had been transferred to Third Haven. On the 29th of the 8th month, 1702, it was recorded that,

This meeting is Concerned to gett Bettys Cove meeting house rebuilt and orders W^m Dixon to Speake to Peter Harwood and know if he will doe it and if he refuses W^m Dixon and Abrah^m Morgan is appointed by this meeting to gett a Carpenter and agree with him to doe it which agreement this meeting will Comply with.³⁰

Six months later nothing had been done, so that the Monthly Meeting appointed Peter Harwood, Daniel Powell, and William

²⁹ *Ibid.*, I, 136, 157; Norris, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

³⁰ Third Haven Minutes, I, 190.

Dixon to "hier a Carpenter to do [this rebuilding] and give account of their proceedings therein to our next monthly meeting." Sometimes later in 1703, this work got underway, for John Lowe, on the 27th of the 2nd month, 1704, turned in a bill for "1500 8^d nailes at 5/6 per M and 2M of 10^d ditto at 6/6 per M." At the same time the meeting approved payment of this account, it also directed Thomas Taylor, the keeper of "Friends' stock" at this time, to pay Peter Harwood four pounds, three shillings, and four pence towards the cost of rebuilding this meeting house. At the end of 1704 Taylor was instructed to pay Harwood an additional three pounds and three shillings "for so much as is behind for building the meeting house at Betties Cove."³¹

The records of Third Haven Meeting offer no information concerning what use was made of this rebuilt meeting house at Betty's Cove or how long it continued to stand. In 1705 the meeting appointed William Dixon, John Lowe, John Bartlett, and Peter Harwood to "gett betties Cove graveyard Secured Either by ditching or payling or how they may See most Convenient." After several promptings the committee finally completed this task, so that John Lowe, on the 30th of the 10th month, 1708, presented the meeting with a bill of 1660 pounds of tobacco and nine shillings and sixpence in cash for "pailing the graveyard at Bettys Cove."³² This is the last mention of this meeting house in Talbot County Quaker records.

Choptank Friends had erected a new meeting house just before the seventeenth century ended. By 1715, it had fallen into an unhappy state of repair, so that on the 27th of the 2nd month it was recorded that there

is Sume Dissatisfaction among the Meeters Consarning the Meeting House which is Now very Bad and unfit for the Meetings Servis and Severall friends not being Satisfied with the place where it now Stands, therefore this Meeting Appoints George Bows, Th^o Taylor, Dan^l and Howell Powell to meete att Choptank Meeting on Sum first day of y^e week and if Posable to approve a place Conveneant where a meeting house may be Built with the Consent of all Choptank meeting.³³

There is no mention in the meeting's minutes of the erection of a new building. It seems likely that the old building was repaired. In 1719, it was decided to hold the monthly meeting

³¹ *Ibid.*, I, 194, 206, 215.

³² *Ibid.*, I, 221, 247.

³³ *Ibid.*, I, 297.

for business (which rotated from Third Haven, to Choptank, to Tuckahoe) at the Choptank Meeting House rather than continuing to hold it at the nearby house of John Stevens where it had been held for some years.³⁴

Just as the second half of the eighteenth century was getting under way, there developed a weakness in the Choptank Meeting. On the 30th of the 12th month, 1754, it was reported to the Monthly Meeting that "From Choptank Meeting their Account is that they have had no Meeting kept among them this Month." In the following month meetings were kept only on two First Days. In a short time, with the urging of the Monthly Meeting, things improved. With one or two exceptions the life of this meeting was much the same as that of the other Talbot meetings. Yet, in 1759, the Choptank Friends found it worthwhile to note that a trespass had been committed on the land where the meeting house was located. In 1760, Peter Webb "produced to this meeting y^e money for the Trespass Committed on Choptank m:g:house and Land," and this money was turned over to Powell Cox, treasurer.³⁵

Tuckahoe Friends early in the eighteenth century became interested in obtaining a title to the property on which their meeting house stood. On the 29th of the 1st month, 1705, John Pitt and Abraham Morgan reported to the Monthly Meeting that they "have Spoake to y^e three friends that Claimed an Interest in y^e Land the meeting house and graveyard Stands upon to give friends a Joynt Conveyance For the Same which they have promised to doe." This "Tuckahoe meeting house Land Deade" was received by the meeting and later on, in 1717, was given to Georg Bows [Bowse] for keeping. In 1723 the Monthly Meeting reported that George Bows, David Arey, and Abraham Morgan, "the friends that ware Instrusted with the Land and meeting house att Tukaho," were all deceased and, therefore, appointed Ennion Williams, James Berry, and James Willson, Jr., "in their Place for that Servis or Trust."³⁶

In 1764 Tuckahoe Friends decided to build a new meeting house and asked the Monthly Meeting to lend it the necessary money

³⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 335, 337.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, II, 109-110, 225, 250.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, I, 217, 314, 373.

from the funds the treasurer now held. Daniel Dickinson was authorized to deliver this money to James Kemp and Benjamin Berry who were the trustees for Tuckahoe Meeting. In 1770, James Kemp and Benjamin Berry "produced the sum of seven Pounds five Shillings being part of the Money they Borrowed of this Meeting for defraying the expense of Building Tuckaho Meeting-house."³⁷

The "great meeting house" at Third Haven, still standing today within the city limits of Easton, needed repairs at the very beginning of the eighteenth century. In 1700 Third Haven Friends sought to "secure y^e floor of our great meeting house." At the same time this meeting was "Concerned to gett y^e house at the water Side Covered for friends Service." One Thomas Bartlett promised "to furnish them with 1500 10^d and 1M 20^d nayles for y^t purpose." This was the building placed at the edge of the creek for the "conveniency" of those Friends coming from the Western Shore to the General Meeting (held alternately at Third Haven and at West River near Annapolis every six months and often called the Yearly Meeting).

In 1708 the General Meeting appointed a number of Friends to repair the "great meeting house" at Third Haven or build another one in its place. After an examination of the building it was felt best to repair it. Again, in 1736, the meeting house was repaired and a collection raised to cover the cost of this work. In 1739, Howell Powell was appointed to "Clear the Quit Rents of y^e Land belonging to this Meeting house for the time past and So annully for time to Come and take their Receipt for the same."³⁸

At the very middle of the century, on the 30th of the 5th month, 1750, in order to raise money for the repairing of Third Haven Meeting House, collectors for contributions were appointed in all four of the Talbot Quaker meetings: John Kemp in Bayside, William Troth in Third Haven, John Dickinson in Choptank, and Isaac Williams in Tuckahoe. In 1755 and 1758, more repairs were made on this building which by then was almost three-quarters of a century old. In 1767, the "backside [of the roof] of the meeting house" was covered with shingles. And, in 1768, the partitions "between the Chambers of Third Meeting house" were to receive

³⁷ *Ibid.*, II, 361, 485.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, I, 169, 170, 247, 487, 503.

the "necessary alteration . . . in order better to accomodate friends in the time of the Yearly Meetings." ³⁹

Another sign of growth was that by 1764 it was felt that more benches were needed at the meeting house, so that the meeting selected Francis Neal and Daniel Dickinson "to agree with a Workman" to make the necessary benches. Still more were believed needed in 1769, and Isaac Dixon and James Berry were ordered to have some more made—for "there is a deficiency in the number of Benches in the time of Yearly Meeting." In 1771, the meeting paid a bill of seven pounds, two shillings, and sixpence for nineteen benches which had been made for Third Haven. In 1771, it was thought good to "have a good and sufficient Fence made round the Meeting house yard," and John Register, Henry Troth, John Bartlett, and James Berry were appointed to see that this would be done.⁴⁰

In 1779, James Berry was requested to procure a stove for Third Haven Meeting House—the first mention of a stove in Talbot Quaker records. According to tradition one Friend was so disturbed by this giving into luxury and "worldliness" that it became his custom to hide this "abomination" by covering it with his coat. One cold First Day morning some Friend started a fire in this stove before the protector of the old ways arrived to throw his coat over the stove—without noticing the fire. For his righteousness the guardian lost a coat, his fellows almost their meeting house.⁴¹

In 1790 Third Haven Friends felt it wise to seek "a permanent outlett to Third Haven Meeting Lott by an exchange of some ground with Denny Hopkins." ⁴² On the 31st of the 3rd month, 1791, the Friends appointed for this task reported that they had "finally settled that business as by an Article now produced which is satisfactory to this meeting and they are directed to have it entered in the County Records." ⁴³

³⁹ *Ibid.*, II, 44-45, 422, 427, 454-455.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, II, 371, 471, III, 3, 78.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, III, 114; *Celebration of the Two Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of Old Third Haven Meeting House, October 23, 1932* (Easton, 1932), p. 17, tells of another narrow escape from destruction by fire. About 1810 Sarah Berry extinguished the flame by rubbing it with a stick—not having time to obtain water or give the alarm.

⁴² Third Haven Minutes, III, 271.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, III, 283, 286. This is reported accomplished by the 26th of the 5th month, 1791.

As the eighteenth century drew to a close, it seemed necessary to Talbot Friends that Third Haven Meeting House be enlarged in order to accommodate the Quarterly Meeting (composed of Third Haven and Cecil Monthly Meetings on the Eastern Shore and Motherkill and Duck Creek Monthly Meetings in Delaware).⁴⁴ Friends were of the opinion that

it will be proper to take away the projecting front part of the building and in the room thereof to erect an Addition of ten feet the whole length of the house and to new Shingle the whole which they apprehend will require the Sum of 120£ to be raised. The same being considered is concurred with and they are desired to contract with a workman to undertake the same and the several preparative Meetings, are directed to proceed to a Collection of their Several proportions of the Sd sum.⁴⁵

The work was done in 1797, but Talbot Friends were still contributing to its cost in 1799.⁴⁶

There is little information in Third Haven records concerning the meeting at Bayside during the eighteenth century, which may have been the oldest of the various meetings in Talbot, probably being started by settlers moving from Kent Island at the end of the 1650's. Thomas Ball, John Lowe, Edward Leeds, William Sharp, Ralph Fishbourne, John Kemp, and David Fairbanks had all settled in this area quite early. They are said to have established *two* meetings in Bay Hundred—one at Broad Creek Neck near Bozman and the other near Wittman—some time before the Betty's Cove Meeting House was built in the late 1660's.⁴⁷ These two meetings, *if* they ever existed at the *same* time, probably formed one Weekly or Preparative Meeting. It seems more likely that Bayside Meeting may have been moved from one of these locations to the other (a practice frequently seen among Eastern Shore Friends).

For some unknown reason reports from Bayside Meeting do not appear as frequently in Third Haven records as do those from other Talbot meetings. About the middle of the eighteenth century there developed a weakness among these Friends, for we

⁴⁴ The Eastern Shore meetings were transferred from the Baltimore to the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting in 1790 (*ibid.*, III, 268).

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, III, 364.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, IV, 32.

⁴⁷ *Celebration of the Two Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of Old Third Haven Meeting House*, pp. 9-10.

read that "From Bayside meeting their account is that their meetings have been kept on first Days this month *by a few* and friends are in Love and unity as far as is known." ⁴⁸ This situation seems to have lingered on for, in 1770, the Monthly Meeting appointed Isaac Dixon and James Berry to visit Bayside Meeting "from time to time as they may find their Minds engaged." In 1782 John Kemp and Thomas Wickersham were appointed by the Monthly Meeting to have the meeting house at Bayside covered. Once again, at the end of 1787, the "weak situation" of Bayside Meeting claimed "the Solid attention" of the Monthly Meeting which appointed Tristram Needles, John Register, Richard Bartlett, and Thomas Wickersham to visit that meeting. As a result it was recorded that,

Most of the friends Appointed report they visited Bayside Meeting and think it would be encouraging to the few there if friends were to go and sit with them in their Meetings, the same friends are continued to visit them as they find freedom and report to this Meeting when they see occasion.⁴⁹

Friends in Talbot, upon advice from George Fox, had begun keeping records in 1676—minutes of their meetings for business, and birth, marriage, and death records. Throughout the colonial period they showed continuing interest in their records. On the 27th of the 5th month, 1704, it was recorded that

Our Friend Ennion Williams haveing Transcribed our Books per order of our friends meeting and friends not having agreed with him upon a price before it was done it was Referred to this meeting to allow him how much money he Shall have for So doeing. This meeting Considering ye great Trouble and paines he has had in Compiling ye minutes and placing them in a right method and also writing them of[f] doe adjudge that he Shall have paid to him So far as he has done out of friends stock ye Sum of Sixteen pounds Sterling with what he has already received.⁵⁰

In 1748 the Monthly Meeting, finding that "Our Book of Marriages and Burials Being at present Not in the Care of any Particular [person]," appointed Isaac Williams and expressed its desire that "he may Keep It According to Our former Practice." "The Late keeper of the Register for Births, marages, and Buryalls

⁴⁸ Third Haven Minutes, II, 144. Italics mine.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, II, 501, III, 152, 251.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, I, 209.

being Removed," the meeting in 1758 selected William Troth for this service. Shortly after this, in 1760, the Monthly Meeting "observing a great omishon in friends not giveing in the ages of their Children to the Register therefore this meeting advises the friends of the Several meetings to bring in the ages of their Children to the Register."⁵¹

In 1759, Daniel Dickinson produced a new "book for a Redgister which Cost twenty sevon shillings"; and the register was transcribed in 1762. At the beginning of 1763, Daniel Dickinson was appointed "to keep the Register . . . in the room of William Troth who is removed from hence." Benjamin Parvin followed Dickinson in this service; and in 1795, at Parvin's death, Richard Bartlett was appointed to this office and placed in charge "of the books and papers relative thereto."⁵²

The intense persecution which Maryland Quakers experienced in the 1650's was short lived. Yet throughout the colonial period Talbot Friends continued to suffer for their religious convictions. As has already been noted, in 1674 Wenlock Christison, William Berry, and two other Friends had prepared a petition for their fellow Quakers, which they presented to the upper house of the Assembly of Maryland, asking to be relieved of the necessity of taking oaths. This request had been approved by the Burgesses but turned down by the Council. As a result of their refusal to take oaths, Maryland Quakers suffered heavily in 1677 and 1678.⁵³ In 1688, Lord Baltimore by proclamation dispensed with oaths in testamentary cases. In other cases the oath remained to trouble Quakers until 1702.

Friends felt strongly against "the double standard of truthfulness which taking an oath implies."⁵⁴ That is why they sought the right to affirm—making their "yea, yea, and nay, nay," subject to the same punishment, if they broke with that, as those who broke their oaths or swore falsely. In 1691, three years after Lord Baltimore dispensed with oaths in testamentary cases, William Berry reported that he was unable to "gett Letters of adm[inistr]ation without an Oath" and requested the advice of the meeting. He was advised to "Forbeare a little time" because John Edmond-

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, II, 25, 191, 252-253.

⁵² *Ibid.*, II, 222, 272, 326, III, 340.

⁵³ Fiske, *op. cit.*, II, 153.

son " Says y^t he does not question but to gett Letters of administration by his Test, and when Jn^o Edmondson returns it will be known wheather it can be so Effectuated as he has Said." In the very next year, 1692, this same John Edmondson, an elected member of the Assembly, was expelled from the Lower House when he asked to be allowed to make the usual declaration of Quakers rather than the prescribed oath. The Lower House had agreed, but the Upper House, consisting of the governor (Sir Lionel Copley, who had just arrived to take over the government of Maryland from the Committee of Safety, after the overthrow of Lord Baltimore) and his council objected.⁵⁵

This difficulty over oaths continued beyond the end of the seventeenth century when we find recorded on the 27th of the 2nd month, 1699, the following:

friends haveing often been required by y^e Justices of peace and other officers to hold up their hands when they give their test which is an Imposition and Contrary to y^e words of the Law as well as to Truth wherefore this meetings Sence is y^t no friend ought to hold up their hand when they give or make their Solemn affirmation or attestation in Courts of Judicature or Elsewhere, also this meeting desires Ennion Williams to gett the act of Parliament of y^t Concerne.⁵⁶

As the eighteenth century began, William Edmondson distressed his brethren by taking " the Oaths y^t is Cutomary for magistrates to take and has accepted the place of a magistrate." The meeting, " being weightily Concerned for his Eternal good," appointed John Pitt and Ennion Williams to visit him " in the love of God." In 1755, William Taylor was appointed to visit James Berry and " Deal with him in Love for his Disorder In taking the oath." William Parrott was disowned in 1793 for having taken an oath to qualify for the office of sub-sheriff.⁵⁷

Still another problem faced by Talbot Quakers in the colonial period was service in the colonial militia. George Fox had preached living a life which " takes away all occasions for war." Therefore Friends were advised to " keep to their Antient Testimony and not to Concern [themselves] with fighting nor taking away mens

⁵⁴ Elbert Russell, *The History of Quakerism* (New York, 1943), p. 58.

⁵⁵ Tilghman, *op. cit.*, II, 521.

⁵⁶ Third Haven Minutes, I, 162.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, I, 179, II, 111, III, 310.

Lives." Wherever possible Friends attempted to bring their members to a sense of their error:

This meeting being Informed y^t notwithstanding y^e advice of Severall friends to y^e contrary, Henry Pratt hath of late gone to Trayning by which he hath Acted contrary to the universal Testimony of truth hurt himselfe and grieved friends, therefore this meeting thinks meete he Should be visitted and his Transgression laid before him y^t So he may condemn it and cleere the Truth.⁵⁸

William Sockwell, Nathaniel Cleeve, Henry Parrott, and Thomas Taylor, who were appointed by the meeting to Visit Henry Pratt, reported back that

they dealt with him in y^e love of god as from y^e meeting letting him know how Inconsistant it is with y^e universal testimony of truth to goe to training which he acknowledged and Said he kindly accepted of friends love and care towards him and y^t he was Really convinced he ought not to go to training and for y^e time to come hoped he Should stand clear of it, and he being present att this meeting hath Signified y^e Same in Substance as above and y^t he is one with friends in their testimony in deni-ing y^t practice.⁵⁹

The various testimonies of Friends were bound to bring sufferings upon them. Quite early, in 1683, Talbot Quakers set up a committee to assist those who suffered and to keep a record of such happenings:

This meeting according to y^e advice of a meeting att Wm. Richardsons on y^e western shore of y^e 16th of y^e 4th month 1683 makes choice of Wm Berry, Bryon Omealy, Ralph Fishbourn, and Tho. Taylor to assist and advise all friends of Every Respective meeting on this Shore in their Sufferings upon truths account att all Courts and y^t y^e Said friends So chosen doe att Each half-years meeting meet with y^e friends chosen on y^e western Shore y^t so y^e said friends on both Shores does as a meeting Enquire Examin and give account to y^e half yeare meeting of friends Suffering y^t So they may be recorded according to the advice of George Fox and friends of y^e yearly meeting at London.⁶⁰

While Talbot Friends in this early period were themselves suffering, they still thought of their brethren who were undergoing persecution elsewhere—especially back in England. On the 5th of the 10th month, 1684, an epistle from London Yearly Meeting was read, and "a weighty Sence being upon this meeting con-

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, I, 49-50, 130.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, I, 50.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, I, 58.

cerning y^e nessitys of Suffering friends and Captives in y^e parts therein mentioned it is y^e advice of this meeting y^t a collection be Made for y^t Service at Every Respective meeting." John Pitt and William Stevens were appointed to receive donations for "captive and suffering friends."⁶¹

The Quaker testimony against war brought problems to eighteenth century Talbot Friends. As early as 1706 Third Haven Monthly Meeting was advising its members to remain faithful to "the Testimony of Truth in Relation to Training" and also counselled against "lending any servant." As the century progressed, the meeting was asked, from time to time, to furnish a certificate to "y^e Captain of the Militia" stating that a person was "in unity with Friends." Therefore, in 1740, the following is recorded:

Henry Wood who at our Meetings for Worship has Generally appeared for Some Time as a person willing to Joyn him Self with us as a people and being Cited to bear Arms addressed this Meeting for a few Lines to Certifie y^e officers of the Melisia wheather he is a person in unity with us. This meeting therefore appoints Francis Neel and Thomas Atkinson to make all Nesesary Inquiry Respecting his life and Conversation if it may be worthy of our Certificate.⁶²

Two months after this request had been made, it is recorded that Henry Wood received "a few lines from this meeting directed to y^e officers of the melisia signifieing he is Reputed a person in unity with us."⁶³

With the outbreak of the American Revolution the peace testimony of Friends could only bring suffering and difficulty upon Talbot County Quakers. In 1776, the Yearly Meeting sent out the following minute from its proceedings:

as we have not as present any Query, requiring friends to account how far they maintain Truths Testimony against bearing Arms, or Training to learn the Art of War, it is our solid sence and Judgment that the following Addition be made to the fifth Query after the paragraph of Goods unlawfully Imported the words [against arms, military services, or contributing towards the support of war] and as we apprehend the Members of our Society who are concerned to bear their Testimony against these measures are likely to be brought under Difficulties and Distress, It is our advice that friends in our Several Quarterly and Monthly Meetings be carefull to Render Accounts of their patient Sufferings, in this respect.⁶⁴

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, I, 67-68.

⁶² *Ibid.*, I, 228, 513.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, I, 513-514.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, III, 72.

In 1776, Thomas Wickersham reported that a "Wheat Fann" valued at three pounds had been taken "in Execution from him . . . for a fine of 40 shillings laid on him for refusing to bear Arms, or Train in the Melitia, taken by David McIntosh, Collector." John Register reported at this same time that a "milch cow" valued at three pounds and ten shillings had been taken from him for this fine of forty shillings.⁶⁵

As the war continued, the situation was bound to get worse, so that, in 1777, the meeting appointed James Edmondson and James Berry to record the sufferings of Friends (and also to keep an account of slaves manumitted). Among those who had property seized by David McIntosh and Thomas Dawson, "Collectors," were John Bartlett, Howell Powell, James Edmondson, William Edmondson, Solomon Charles, Richard Bartlett, John Register, Thomas Wickersham, Solomon Neall, Benjamin Parvin, Daniel Wilson, Henry Sherwood, Joseph Berry, Thomas Welch, Robert Kemp, James Fairbanks, and Thomas McKinsey.⁶⁶ Many of these people had property taken upon several occasions—sometimes for refusing to train in the militia and sometimes because their consciences did not permit them to pay taxes used to support war. Among the many objects taken by these "Collectors" were feather beds, cows, and blankets.

Not all Talbot Friends remained firm in their peace testimony. One of them, Samuel Register, was disowned in 1778 for neglecting meetings and for having "taken an Affirmation which we apprehend enjoins him to support war, for which purpose he hath contributed toward hiring a Substitute in lieu of personal service."⁶⁷

The problem did not disappear with the end of the fighting, for there were still those taxes designed to pay the cost of the past war. Friends were told in 1784 that,

We are unanims of the Judgment that notwithstanding the offering of human blood appears to be stayed friends cannot be clear in paying taxes for Sinking the Debt Incured by the late war, and that friends ought to be very careful how they act in all such cases as may have a tendency to lay waist our peaceable testimony, and especially those who have heretofore suffered the Spoil of their goods rather than contribute towards

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, III, 74.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, III, 78, 83, 90, 101, 102, 110, 124-125, 138, 141, 144, 154, 164, 171, 189, 206, 222.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, III, 92.

the Support of War and that they give no ocation for the Truth to be evilly Spoken of.⁶⁸

In addition to these matters of oaths and war, there soon arose another problem which stemmed from the "establishment" of the Anglican Church in Maryland. A series of laws, from 1692 to 1702, succeeded in making the Church of England the official church in Maryland. One of the provisions embodied in the establishment called for the assessment of forty pounds of tobacco per poll on all taxable persons. This money was to be used for the erection of Anglican churches and the support of Anglican preachers. In 1694 Friends were cautioned against "Contributing towards maintaining Idollatrous priests" and their "houses of Worship."⁶⁹ A half year earlier, on the 5th of the 11th month, 1693, the meeting had advised Talbot Quakers that no Friend ought to pay this tax "Either directly or indirectly or any other person for the use afd it being antichristian so to do."

Often when Friends refused to pay this tax for the support of the established church they had their property seized by the sheriff. For this reason, therefore, the Monthly Meeting advised on the 29th of the 4th month, 1699,

that there be an accompt kept of friends Suffering upon y^e account of the 40^l: tobacco per poll to y^e Priest and for Building and Repairing their worship houses and y^t it be brought to y^e quarterly meeting. The following friends are appointed to y^t Service in their respective weekly meeting: William Dixon for Tredhaven, Ennion Williams for y^e Bay Side, James Ridley for Tuccahoe, William Stevens for Choptanck.⁷⁰

Talbot Quakers continued to suffer because their consciences refused to allow them to support the Anglican Church. At the very beginning of the eighteenth century Talbot Friends made known the opposition to this tax: "It is proposed to this meeting by Severall friends that Such friends as are dealers [in tobacco] be advised to Receive noe tobacco y^t is Executed for y^e priests wages or Repairing their worship house."⁷¹ This concern was referred to the Yearly Meeting for action.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, III, 193.

⁶⁹ Third Haven Minutes, I, 130.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, I, 128, 163. At this same meeting Daniel Cox was appointed to this service in Transquaking Meeting, in Dorchester, and Henry Hoosier for Chester Meeting and George Warner for Cecil Meeting, both in Kent County.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, I, 177.

In 1702, John Pitt and John Baynard were appointed to visit Walter Trotter "in the love of God" for the meeting had heard that he "has dealt with y^e Sherriff and taken Tobacco y^t was Executed for y^e priest hier." Trotter told the two representatives that "he did deale with y^e Sherrif but never rec^d any Tobacco y^t was Executed."

Talbot Friends, in 1706, at the suggestion of the Yearly Meeting at West River, appointed two friends in each meeting "to give accompt of y^e state of the meeting" to which they belong. These same people were also appointed to "Collect y^e Sufferings of friends" and turn them into Howell Powell "who by his free assent is appointed to take Care of them and Carry them to y^e yearly meeting at West River yearly." Those appointed were Ennion Williams and Thomas Ball for Bayside, William Dickinson and Peter Webb for Choptank, and John Pitt and Benjamin Parrott for Tuckahoe.⁷²

Again, in 1723, Talbot Quakers were advised "to be Carefull to Keep up their Testimony against the Antichristian Yoak of Priest hier." In 1763, Friends, "sorrowfully observing a Deficiency on account of Maintaining our Testimony against the payment of Priests wages," advised their brethren "tenderly to treat with such as are Deficient, in order to Excite them to more faithfulness in that respect."⁷³

The Quarterly Meeting, containing all the meetings on the Eastern Shore, "being informed that some Persons heretofore appointed as Overseers in some of our Meetings are in the practice of paying the Priests," advised the various Monthly Meetings in 1764 to avoid appointing any as overseers "whose Hands are not clean in that respect." It also requested that an inquiry be made "into the State of the Overseers in the respective Meetings." Talbot Friends chose Joseph Bartlett, Isaac Dixon, Joseph Berry, James Kemp, and Benjamin Berry for this task. One month later this committee reported back that it had met with *most* of the overseers and was "enabled in some good Degree in Love to treat with those of them who have been Deficient in that respect." The next month, after meeting with others, the committee reported that some overseers bore testimony against this practice; others,

⁷² *Ibid.*, I, 187-188, 227-228. None was appointed for Third Haven.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, I, 369, II, 325.

who were "deficient therein," were advised by the committee to show "more circumspection of the future." Another committee, composed of Joseph Bartlett, Isaac Dixon, James Kemp, Joseph Berry, Henry Troth, William Edmondson, and James Berry, was set up, in 1765, to visit the various Quaker families and to "Labour in Love with those amongst us who are in the Practice of Paying the hireling Priests."⁷⁴

It was the custom of the Monthly Meeting to call for "the Sufferings of Friends on account of Priests Wages" fairly regularly from 1760 onward. In 1769, the meeting noted that there was "some Deficiency in bringing in the Suffering of friends on account of Priests demands and Church Rates so called" and called upon the representatives of the various Preparative Meetings to turn in an account each month for the sufferings which happened in each preceding month. For the next three years, the records are full of those who had goods taken from them for this purpose. In 1769, James Edmondson had twenty shillings "executed" from him—while Isaac Dixon lost four cows, Isaac Cox one gun, William Troth one mare, Joseph Berry one pair of "steel yards," Thomas Cockayne one pair of saddle bags, and William Edmondson eleven shillings and three pence. Isaac Dixon had the sheriff return a second time that year and take four more "cattle" to settle back claims for the years 1762, 1763, and 1764. In 1770 and 1771, James Berry, Howell Powell, William Troth, and Obadiah Atkinson had their sufferings listed.⁷⁵

One of the main sources of trouble for the Quaker community seems to have been the presence of "James Clayland priest" (the Anglican minister at St. Michaels), who appears to have encouraged the children of Quakers to come to him for quick weddings. As early as 1680, we find this concern being expressed:

Nathaniell Cleeve acquainted the meeting that a Daughter of his was Lately stolen away from him and conveyed to James Clayland priest who granted them a Licence and married them all in one day which he Said Seemed contrary to all Just Law and Reason and the meeting debateing the matter finding it to be of great weight have Referred it to our halfe years meeting at West river to be farther Considered of.⁷⁶

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, II, 366-368, 372.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, II, 260, 349, 389, 453, 458-459, 462, 465, 470, 472, 473, 501; III, 5.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, I, 24.

This matter was taken up to the high officials of the province and it was reported that "the proprietary treated y^m [*i. e.*, those Friends who called upon him] very Civilly and Said that he was very Cautious of granting licences himself without the Parents consent." He reported to them, moreover, that he "did check the party that did grant them and said that for y^e future he would take Care in all his counties that the like Should be prevented or words to that purpose." This problem of marriages performed by "hireling priest" (which denied the principle of the priesthood of all believers) continued to plague Friends through this whole colonial period.

In this year of 1676, when Third Haven minutes first begin, there appears a great deal of interest in Quaker marriages. Since this marriage ceremony, taking place without the presence of a priest or minister, was unique with Friends, it needed special supervision and attention. It was decided that "such as declare their Intentions of marriage" should be "registered in all the Monthly Meeting Books." Also we find that "it was agreed upon by y^e meeting that noe marriages nor anything of Concernment Should be published in meeting but by the Consent of Every Respective mans meeting." Part of this concern expressed at this particular time probably stems from a rather hasty marriage on the part of Wenlock Christison. On the 14th of the 5th month, 1676, the following was recorded:

Wenlock Christerson declared in the meeting that if the world or any particular person Should speak Evilly of the Truth or Reproach Friends concerning his proceeding in takeing his wife that then he will give farther Satisfaction and cleere the Truth and Friends by giving forth a paper to Condemn his hasty and forward proceeding in that matter and Said that were the thing to do Againe he would not proceed so hasty nor without the Consent of Friends.

It was agreed that Wenlock Christison's "paper" be suspended "till y^e halfe year meeting." On the 23rd of the 12th month, 1676, we read that Christison "according to his promise delivered a paper to this meeting and for the publication of y^e Same left it to the discretion of y^e meeting if upon farther Consideration They do Judg it Suffitient for the Cleering the Truth in Such a Case."

Even though the Friends continued to be troubled and con-

demned "outgoing" marriages, after Christison's problem a definite pattern of behavior is met with in the minutes where proposed marriages are concerned. On the 14th of the 5th month, 1676, it is seen that

Bryan Omealy and Mary Lewis Signified unto the meeting their Intentions of coming together as Husband and wife, Leaving to the Consideration and advice of Friends, upon which the meeting Requested John Pitt and Ralph Fishbourn to make Enquiry whether they were Cleere from all other persons or any miscarages and to give their answer to the next mens meeting.⁷⁷

Finally approval was granted and the marriage took place on the 27th of the 6th month.

There were times when the meeting encountered trouble as it tried to insist upon the "good order" of Friends in these matters. Just two years later, in 1678, it is recorded that

In as much as Obadiah Judkins and Obedience Jenner did Some time Since lay their intents of coming together as husband and wife before our man and womans meeting and the meeting advised that they should proceed no further till certificate were produced out of England on the young womans account She being but of late come into this country and that they should live apart till the Same were Effectted they both did readily consent unto the Same yett notwithstanding this the young woman hath Since give way to the Subtill working of the Enemy and deceitfulness of her own heart Endeavouring to persuade Obadiah Judkins to take her contrary to y^e order of y^e truth and agreeable to y^e way of the world the which the Said Obadia wholly denied and bore testimony against it at a hearing of which She desired to be cleared to which Obadia readily consented as seeing her unfaithfulness to the truth. She having nothing to charge y^e Said Obadia withall as Shee acknowledged to John Pitt and Tho. Taylor, So y^t y^e neglect of her Solemn Ingagement to the meeting is chargable only upon her Selfe and She must bear her own burthen for the truth is cleere.⁷⁸

A little later, there is found the following:

Obadiah Judkins and Elizabeth Barden laid their Intentions of comeing together as husband and wife before this meeting and the meeting advised them and in love to Desist proceeding in the matter till her husband had been dead twelve months which they before this meeting gave their consent to.

One of the greatest concerns of early Quakers was that of

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, I, 1-3, 7, 41.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, I, 13, 22.

marriages being performed "in the good order of Truth"—according to the unique practices of Friends. At the very beginning of the eighteenth century Talbot Friends attempted to remedy the difficulty many couples had in obtaining a certificate which would be read at the marriages and signed by all witnesses present at the ceremony. On the 26th of the 10th month, 1700, John Baynard was appointed to write all certificates of Friends marriages, and it was stated that he should be paid one shilling for every such document by the parties married.⁷⁹

When a man and woman acquainted the meeting with their intention to get married, the women's business meeting would appoint a committee to examine her "clearness" and the men's meeting would do likewise with the man. One of the more interesting investigations of the couple's "clearness" is recorded in 1702:

y^e women friends appointed to Enquire into Eliz^a Deans Cleerness gave accompt that they heard by report y^t S^d Eliz^a was not Cleere wherupon y^t monthly meeting Stopt their proceedings and took farther Care to Send to y^e man y^t pretended an Interest in the S^d Eliz^a and he pretended to y^e messenger She had promised him marriage and alleged to could prove it by Witnesses wherupon y^e meetings messengers went to those whome he alleged were his witnesses to Enquire, who (quite Contrary to his alegacon) Said they knew noe Such thing, but Said they heard her Say y^t She would never be Concerned with him, Neither has he ever come neer y^e young woman since y^e Said Tho: Tiler and her first appearance before our meeting upon the acc^o of marriage nor Come to any of y^e meetings neither quarterly nor monthly meetings to make anything appear against her, all of which being taken into this meetings Consideration is not thought Suffitient to obstruct their proceedings by a bare report of his who pretending interest in her and offering prooffe for it was found a fallacy, Therefore this meeting Leaves the Said Thom^s Tiler and Elizabeth Dean to their Liberty in y^e truth to Effect their intentions of marriage they appointing a time and place for y^t purpose and making y^e Same publick.⁸⁰

The same reasoning that led Friends to oppose a marriage by a minister (for God alone makes a real marriage) caused them to reject those marriages by justices of the peace. Susanah Slaughter, "latte Wid: Parrott," was dealt with, in 1722, by the meeting for having been married in Pennsylvania by a justice even after being advised that it was wrong. In 1723, Edward Clark, Jr., "produced

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, I, 173.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, I, 185.

a paper . . . Declaring his ignorance in Truths affairs of Marriage and his Sorrow for the Breach of the Good order of Truth " after having been married by a justice.⁸¹

When the meeting gave its approval to a proposed wedding, it appointed a committee to be present and report how the ceremony was accomplished. John Berry's marriage was said to have been " decently accomplished," in 1719. That of Samuel Rowland and Mary Wright, in 1763, was " not in so good order as could have been desired, by reason of a Disorderly Person coming into the Meeting and making some disturbance therein." In 1723, the committee told that Joshua Clark's marriage was " well accomplished at the meeting house But there was Sum Disorder att the weding how (as they call itt) which is to the Disatisfaction of this meeting and the Grieff of the friends of Truth." ⁸²

In 1735, Talbot Friends felt a " Concern to Revive their antient Testimony against Disorderly marriages wherein Severall of our young friends have gone." As a result Susannah Baynard, Leah Parrott, Elizabeth Buckingham, Joanna Neal, Hannah Powell, and Thomas Stevens were all dealt with during the following year—with some of them being " disowned " for " marrying contrary to good order." In the 1760's the " disorderly practice of being married by priests " began to increase once more, so that on 6th month 24th, 1762, the meeting decided that " if any member should for the future be Married by a Priest, that they should be Disowned from being in Unity with friends." A committee of Friends appointed by the Eastern Shore meetings met late in 1762 to discuss this growing problem and expressed its judgment that the increase of this " outgoing in marriage " came in large part from the meetings' " too easily Accepting of Papers of Acknowledgment from such offenders." It was the committee's recommendation that those who in the future might " joyn themselves in Marriage by a Priest " should be speedily " testified against." ⁸³

Between 1754 and 1762, there were twenty-one cases of members of Third Haven Monthly Meeting being married by priests. And the minutes contain " papers of acknowledgment " from many of these. In 1762, however, when Thomas Edmondson, produced his

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, I, 360, 364, 366.

⁸² *Ibid.*, I, 331, 341, 371.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, I, 479, 491, II, 306, 329-330.

"acknowledgment for his disorderly Marriage," Friends "not seeming free to receive it *now* have continued the same till next Monthly Meeting."⁸⁴ From this point on it is easy to discern a trend towards a delay in accepting these acknowledgments. As a result, many Friends were disowned—with some of them permanently lost to the Society of Friends. Others, after some months or years, asked to be reinstated. William Dixon was disowned, in 1770, for such a marriage; in 1793, he requested membership for himself, his wife, and seven children.⁸⁵

Holding the relationship between man and woman a sacred one and not to be entered into lightly, Friends were concerned over any immorality among their members. In 1700, Seth Garrett was "testified against" for his "Imaginations of Naomie Berrys haveing thoughts of uncleanness towards him which upon Examination is found to be nothing but his own unclean thoughts." In 1705, John Leeds caused Bayside Meeting real consternation:

From Bayside meeting accompt is given y^t they have been under a great exercise by means of John Leeds unto whome a young woman has Laid a Child and has taken her oath y^t it is his Child and friends of y^t meeting has dealt with him about it but he does neither Confess nor deny the Said child to be his, Therefore this meeting is concerned y^t Some weighty friends should vissitt him as from this meeting whereunto Will^m Dixon and George Bowes lets the meeting know y^t they are given up in their minds to perform y^t Service.⁸⁶

The committee reported several visits to him, finding him always "in a Stubbourne Spiritt and full of hard heartedness." Therefore the Monthly Meeting "being Sencible of Severall reflections y^t have been Cast upon friends and truth upon his accompt has found an absolute necessity to draw up a publick Testimony against him and that Spiritt y^t ledd him into y^t unclean action."⁸⁷

In 1755, the meeting was informed that "Divers friends are Much Dissatisfied Concerning William Taylors keeping Rebekah Hanes about his house." This dissatisfaction arose from a "suspicion of their being too Intimately Concerned with each other."

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, II, 302. Italics mine.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, II, 494; III, 311.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, I, 170, 225.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, I, 226. Ennion Williams was sent to read this to John Leeds and "afterwards to publish the Same as he may See Occation or give Coppies of it as Sees meete."

The meeting therefore advised Taylor "to put her away from him to Clear up the said Suspicion." The committee of Friends appointed for this task were told by the couple "that they were at present Determined not to Separate." A short time later Friends were informed by James Wilson that he and Joseph Berry had again visited William Taylor who told them that "Rebeckah Hanes and he Is now parted and She is Gone from him with Design to Live apart." Taylor, being present at this meeting on 10th month 27th, 1755, "assents thereto." By 1st month, 1756, Taylor and Rebeckah Hanes were once more back together; and upon their refusal to separate, the meeting declared both of them "out of Unity and It is the Mind of this Meeting that a Publick Testimony Should go out against them." In 1757, the following was recorded:

William Taylor gave in a paper to This meeting signed by him and Rebakah Hanes Condemning that Selfish Spirit that Lead them to Refuse the advice given to them of separating in order to cleare up a Suspicion of a too grate intimacy between them and likewise to Certifie that they have now Separated in Compliance with the S^d advice which paper this meeting Rec^d as Satisfaction provided they continue to live apart and James Wilson and Joseph Berry is appointed to have an Eye over them to See that they live answerable to the truth and make Report thereof when they see Cause.⁸⁸

As the seventeenth century drew to a close, Talbot Friends, concerned with the spiritual welfare of their members, chose representatives from each meeting who were to gather twice a year with other "weighty friends to meete and discourse of y^e affaires of the Church y^t may be proper to be discoursed on." This "select" meeting was to be held at Third Haven Meeting House in the first and sixth months of each year and included representatives from meetings in Dorchester and Kent Counties also (Third Haven Monthly Meeting at this time contained other meetings than just the Talbot ones). Tuckahoe meeting was represented by John Pemberton, James Ridley, John Pitt, and John Wooters; Tred Haven (Third Haven) by William Dixon, William Sockwell, Abraham Morgan, and Daniel Powell; Bayside by Ennion Williams and Robert Sands; and Choptank by William Stevens, William Dickinson, and Lovelace Gorsuch.⁸⁹

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, II, 121, 126, 128, 131, 164.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, I, 167.

Early in the eighteenth century Talbot Quakers were advised by the Yearly Meeting to appoint "visitors to families" within each of their meetings. On the 11th of the 3rd month, 1718, the following were appointed: Daniel Richardson, Thomas Ball, Ruth Richardson, and Mary Lowe for Bayside; John Stevens, Samuel Dickinson, Katharine Sharp, and Judith Dickinson for Choptank; Thomas Taylor, Thomas Atkinson, Mary Edmondson, and Mary Bartlett for Third Haven; and James Willson, Thomas Buckingham, Rebecca Pitts, and Isabell Taylor for Tuckahoe.⁹⁰ These Friends were responsible for fostering the spiritual welfare of those in their meetings.

Just after the middle of the century another development, springing from much the same need, took place. In the 6th month, 1755, on the advice of the Yearly Meeting at West River, Talbot Quakers agreed to hold "a select Meeting of Ministers and Elders" at Third Haven Meeting House in the third, sixth, ninth, and twelfth months on monthly meeting day and starting at the tenth hour.

Quakers in the colonial period were concerned with the material welfare of their people as well as with their spiritual state. The rights of children were to be remembered when a widow was to be remarried. When William Dixon and Elizabeth Christison (Wenlock's widow) appeared before the Monthly Meeting, in 1680, to announce their intention of marrying, the meeting "having nothing against their coming together but for the truths Sake and their Sake did make Inquiry of Eliz^a whether she had or would sett off any thing for her children." A committee was appointed by the meeting "to meete the next 3rd day att the widdows house to pruse the will and to see that it may be answered and to Settle the Estate as neere as may be agreeable to the Same."⁹¹

The widow likewise was to be looked after. In 1679 the meeting heard that "Widdow Ford" was in want and appointed Lovelace Gorsuch and John Stevenson to "Suply her with what She hass absolute Nessesity for her Selfe and Children for her present Supply." Early in 1680, the meeting appointed Sarah Edmondson and Sarah Thomas to visit the "Widdow Ford" to see "if they can prevaile with her to remove her Selfe amongst friends and if So: the meeting is willing to accept of it and to allow both her

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, I, 323.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, I, 24, II, 117.

and her children a maintenance convenient"; they were also instructed to "Inspect into the bargains She Hath made aboute her Plantation and how matters Stands with her." By the 3rd month, 1682, Lovelace Gorsuch reported that he had, at the meetings orders, spent seven hundred and seventy-five pounds of tobacco to help "y^e widdow Ford." On the 11th of the 10th month, 1691, the meeting expressed its desire that Friends "assit y^e widdow Parrott next third day come week in repairing her house."⁹²

The poor were also remembered by the meeting. The meeting ordered that Thomas Taylor be given six hundred and fifty pounds of tobacco to pay for a cow which he had supplied to John Keeld ("he being a poor man and having a charg of children"). In 1684, John Edmondson and Emanuel Jenkinson were ordered to buy a bed for Mary Swift, a widow, who had appeared "laying her Poverty before the meeting and [saying] that She had great need of a bed." This bed, costing the meeting four hundred pounds of tobacco, was provided almost immediately.

The meeting's care of its orphans was very real. On the 13th of the 11th month, 1687, the meeting "haveing before their Consideration y^e accomodations and Learning of Bryon Omealias orphants gives it as their Sence that fourteen hundred pounds of tobacco be allowed yearly for Each of their accomodations and learning." A report came to the meeting on the 19th of the 8th month, 1688, that Nathaniel Cleeve's children, who had been bound out as apprentices, were suffering. The meeting advised the executors of Cleeve's estate "to goe forthwith and demand the Condicion and Likewise the Children if the time is Expired that their father Lett them for, and if it is denied then to goe to a magistrate and Request his warrant to command both Hurlock and the Condicion and See that the Children doe not Suffer." One of Nathaniel Cleeve's children was brought before the meeting, in 1691, by James Wilson and it was recorded that

y^e meeting thinks he is too young to goe to prentice and is willing he Should have one yeares Schooling first and Obadiah Judkin offers to diett him one year and James Wilson offers to pay for his yeares Schooling. This meeting kindly Accepts Sd offers upon y^e Sd orphants accompt and orders Said child to goe home with Obadiah Judkin and advises Obadiah and Tho Booker to agree with y^e Schoolmaster for one yeares Schooling

⁹² *Ibid.*, I, 20, 25, 49, 116.

for Sd child and y^t they discourse y^e School master y^t Sd child be not brought up in the worlds Fashions.⁹³

After the year has passed, this child was placed with John Pemberton upon "these Condicions y^t is to bring him up to his trade of a Copper and [that] he Learn him to read and if he can with conveniency teach him to write and he is to Imploy him in any other business until he is of ability to work at his trade."

One of the more unusual cases of the interest of Talbot Quakers in the affairs of the unfortunate is found, in 1683, when it is recorded that

Isaac Smith schoolmaster haveing lately his residence and Employment amongst friends att Kings creek and Tuccahoe and there falling into Distraction of mind and haveing formerly been in y^e Same condition when he lived in Virginia and in this condition being Subject to tear and destroy his Cloaths and Committ other destructive things friends thought it y^e best way to keep him up for y^e prevention of y^e like things and fearing worse might follow but he being broak away this meeting desieres and advises Every Respective Friend to make Inquiry after y^e said Isaac Smith and if they hear of him to Endeavor to persuade him to goe to the friends he came from who are very willing to doe for him and continue their care towards him in order to his being restored into his right mind but if he will not be persuaded then to acquaint y^e next Magistrate.⁹⁴

All of these concerns of the meeting for its members cost money, so that from time to time Friends had to appeal for more contributions to the common fund. From 1686, there appear notices such as the following: "This meeting considering the nessissity that often happens for the relieving Poore friends and that the Stock at present for Such like Services is too Small, advises y^t there may be a Contribution in Each weekly meeting belonging to this monthly meeting for Such Services."⁹⁵

In addition to their interest in their fellow Friends at home and abroad, Talbot Quakers of the colonial period, like their brethren elsewhere, exhibited a concern for their less fortunate Indian and Negro neighbors. On the 30th of the 5th month, 1686, the Monthly Meeting reported a "Consideration upon their minds Concerning y^e Selling of Strong Drink to y^e Indians."⁹⁶ This problem they decided to refer to the yearly meeting for action. William

⁹³ *Ibid.*, I, 54, 67, 92, 99, 115.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 59, 116.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, I, 83. See also I, 95, 103, 116, 167, 188.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, I, 80.

Dixon, who married Elizabeth Christison, in 1684 desired to sell to one of his Negro slaves his freedom and asked the meeting's advice on this subject; he was referred to the Yearly meeting for its view on the matter. It appears that Bryon Omealia also was concerned to provide for his slaves, by selling land at "appaquinime," but failed to make provision for this in his will—so that the executor of his estate was unable to sell the land for this purpose.⁹⁷

From early in the eighteenth century, Talbot Friends exhibited an increasing interest in the problem of slavery and in the welfare of Negroes—both slaves and freedmen. William Dixon, who, in 1684, had asked the Monthly Meeting's advice concerning selling freedom to one of his slaves, in 1708, by his will, emancipated several slaves and provided for their support by furnishing them land and means to build houses.⁹⁸

Two people were very influential in convincing Talbot County Quakers that slavery was an evil. One was the great New Jersey Quaker John Woolman who visited this area in 1748 and again in 1766 when he made his well-known journey by foot among Eastern Shore Friends. In 1754, after much thought about the evils of Southern slavery, Woolman produced his treatise *Considerations on the Keeping of Negroes*; a second part was added in 1762. This was one of the most effective treatises ever written about slavery, and had a real influence on Talbot Friends, especially when coupled with his pilgrimage to them on foot in 1766.⁹⁹

Woolman's influence likewise made itself felt on Joseph Nichols who started a religious movement whose members finally came to be known as Nicholites or "New Quakers." Concentrated along the Delaware-Maryland border with most of their members in Caroline County, the Nicholites added to their near-Quaker way of life a testimony against slave-holding. Nichols and some of his followers such as James Harris, James Horney, and William Dawson, by their example and preaching, had some impact upon the neighboring Quakers.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, I, 66. For a discussion of Quakers and slavery see my article "Maryland Quakers and Slavery," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XLV (1950), 215-225.

⁹⁸ Talbot County Wills, Liber I, Folio 271; Third Haven Minutes, I, 66, 86.

⁹⁹ Amelia Mott Gummere, *The Journal and Essays of John Woolman* (Philadelphia, 1922), pp. 96-97.

¹⁰⁰ See Kenneth L. Carroll, "Joseph Nichols and the Nicholites of Caroline County, Maryland," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XLV (Mar., 1950), 47-61; "More About the Nicholites," *ibid.*, XLVI (Dec., 1951), 278-289; "The Nicholites of North Caro-

Starting in 1759 Maryland Quakers exhibited a growing awareness of the *spiritual* problems involved in slavery. In 1762, the Yearly Meeting at West River ruled that its members should not be concerned in the *importing* and *buying* of Negroes and also said that the approval of the Monthly Meeting would be necessary for a Friend to sell a slave. When Powell Cox asked Third Haven Monthly Meeting, in 1765, for permission to sell some Negroes, the Monthly Meeting appointed a committee to examine the case. Finally, it recommended that he be allowed to sell them "at private sale provided he can get good places for them."¹⁰¹ In 1767, Dennis Hopkins, Sr., was called before the Monthly Meeting to explain his action in buying a slave and, in the same year, Daniel Bartlett was disowned for buying a Negro.¹⁰² George Willson, of Tuckahoe Meeting, was disowned, in 1769, after much patient "laboring" with him for buying a slave.¹⁰³

Beginning in 1767, there appears a number of manumissions in the records of Third Haven Monthly Meeting. Joseph Berry, on 7th month 30th, 1767, freed several of his slaves—probably the first Talbot Friend to act on this question after Woolman's 1766 foot journey. Daniel Smith was appointed by the Monthly Meeting to obtain a book in which to record these manumissions and others which were expected to follow; he was followed in this office by William Edmondson, who was in turn replaced by Richard Bartlett in 1779. Talbot Friends who freed their slaves included Benjamin Berry, Joseph Berry, Isaac Dixon, William Edmondson, Samuel Harwood, Magdalen Kemp, Tristram Needles, Mary Ann Parrott, Howell Powell, Sarah Powell, Henry Troth, James Turner, and Daniel Wilson. The greatest concentration of manumissions came between 1767 and 1771, following Woolman's journey, and between 1777 to 1780, following the Yearly Meeting's decision that slaveholding was a disownable offense.¹⁰⁴

lina," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, XXXI (Oct., 1954), 453-462; "Joseph Nichols, of Delaware: An Eighteenth Century Religious Leader," *Delaware History*, VII (Mar., 1956), 37-48; "Additional Nicholite Records," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, LII (Mar., 1957), 74-80; and "The Nicholites Become Quakers: An Example of Unity in Disunion," *Bulletin of the Friends Historical Association*, XLVII (Spring, 1958), 3-19.

¹⁰¹ Third Haven Minutes, II, 381.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, II, 417 1/2, 424-425.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, II, 463.

¹⁰⁴ For a fuller discussion of this subject see Kenneth L. Carroll, "Maryland Quakers and Slavery," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XLV (Sept., 1950), 215-225. Third Haven Minutes, II, 426.

Talbot Quakers retained an interest in their Negro neighbors, both free and slave, so that in 1774 a committee for "care and oversight" was set up. In 1779 there was a "A Concern prevailing in this [Quarterly] Meeting for the farther Instruction and encouragement of Negroes." The liberty of those Negroes who had been set free was called into question in 1784, and Talbot Friends appointed John Bartlett, James Berry, Solomon Charles, Benjamin Parvin, Richard Bartlett, and John Register "to draw up an address suitable to the occasion and present it on behalf of this meeting to the ensuing Court of Talbot County, and proceed further in the case if they should see cause."¹⁰⁵

A committee appointed in 1791 to visit the Negroes reported back that,

The Committee on the visit to the black people . . . [has] visited them in their families pretty generally to a good degree of satisfaction and found them in generall in a Situation of providing for themselves more comfortably than they expected—and were free to propose that there should be a meeting held at this place for them which claiming the consideration of this meeting it is agreed to appoint S^d Meeting on 7th day the 14th of next Month which S^d Committee are desired to Attend and report thereof.¹⁰⁶

On the whole, life within the Quaker community in colonial Talbot County was a peaceful one. Occasionally, however, human weakness brought about a temporary break in the atmosphere of love and affection which Friends held one for another. As a result there are a handful of minutes such as the following. In 1689 it is recorded that

Whereas there has happened Severall differences betwixt Henry Willchurch and John Edmondson so that they have both beene in a pashion and Run into bad and unsavory Expressions contrary to Truth which John Edmondson has condemned before this meeting and that Spiritt that Ledd him into those things and declares he freely forgives Henry Willchurch.

Several years later, on the 7th of the 10th month, 1694, there appears a more interesting confession of failing to "walk in Truth":

Sarah Edmondson appeared in this meeting in Brokeness of heart and Spiritt and Declared that whereas She had Lett a Spirit of Straitness Enter

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, III, 107, 187.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, III, 283.

her, against Some friends in Soe much as She Refused to give them her hand, y^e Lord hass been pleased to lett her See that it was y^e Enemies work, and y^t by So doeing She disjoynted her selfe from y^e unity of friends and declares that She is Sorry for it and does condemn y^t Spiritt y^t Ledd into it or anything Else y^t grieved friends.¹⁰⁷

Occasionally there appeared a discordant note in the life of Tuckahoe Meeting. Thomas Allcock, a rather unpredictable Friend, who had been dealt with by the meeting during the seventeenth century, was the cause of one of these unhappy episodes in 1707 when it was reported that,

From Tuccaho meeting acc^t is given their meeting is duly kept and friends mostly in love and unity but y^e Disatisfaction is againe revived by Tho Allcock who formerly use to keep on his hatt in time of prayer he now goes out of y^e meeting in y^e time of a friend appearing in prayer. Therefore this meeting appoint Jn^o Pitt, David Arey, and Abraham Morgan to vissitt him and Deal with him as from this meeting for his Irreverent indecent and disorderly action and give acc^{tt} to our next monthly meeting.¹⁰⁸

Still another difficulty faced by Tuckahoe Quakers in 1707 concerned Jeremiah Jadwyn who

went to a priest and was by him Sprinkled notwithstanding which he would, and did by the assistance of his mother, fatherinlaw and his own wife Contrary to Friends order Interrd a Child of his in friends buriing ground—and y^t also y^e afore named persons have neglected Comeing to meetings. Therefore this meeting appoints George Bowes, Abraham Morgan, David Arey and John Pitt to vissitt them . . . and advise them for the future to walk more orderly and that in the feare of god according to the Truth which they have made proffession of.¹⁰⁹

In 1729, Thomas Silvestor buried his wife, who was "out of unity with Friends," in the Tuckahoe graveyard. When the meeting sent James Barwell and Robert Walker to enquire "of the S^d Silvester who gave him leve to Bury in S^d yard he said it was Edward Clark who gave him liberty." When Edward Clark denied ever having given Silvestor this permission, the committee was sent back to Silvestor once more to notify him that "friends Expect Satisfaction for his Trespas."¹¹⁰

In the second half of the eighteenth century Tuckahoe Meeting experienced more difficulty—this time with James Willson and

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, I, 102, 132.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, I, 235.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, I, 241.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, I, 418, 420.

William Willson who were charged with "appearing frequently in their meetings in a Spirit of anger and Opposition much to the dissatisfaction of that Meeting." James Kemp, appointed by the Monthly Meeting to visit James Willson, reported that Willson promised that he "would strive to refrain from being active in the Meetings of Business for the future"; Joseph Bartlett and Jonathan Neale were then sent to visit James Willson, "to Labour with him in Love in order to bring him to a Sight of his Misconduct." On the 30th of the 9th month, 1762, some four months after the complaint had first been made, Bartlett and Neale reported back that James Willson

told them that he intended not to sett in Preparative Meetings of Business for the future, for if he saw things going amiss as he had done, he could not help opposing; and as for what the Meeting requests he could not comply with, because when he saw things go Wrong he thought it his duty to oppose them. And as for his appearing in a Spirit of Anger he did freely acknowledge that he was Sorry for [it], which acknowledgement is received as Satisfaction, provided he refrains being active in Meetings of Business untill he is received in full Unity.¹¹¹

A small division appears to have developed in the ranks of Talbot County Quakers toward the end of the 1680's. George Bowse (Bowes) and his wife Margaret seem to have been the primary cause of this unfortunate development. Several times they had been "dealt with by Severall Friends and yet . . . appeared publically in meeting by way of Testimony to the dissatisfaction of friends, they having no unity with them." George and Margaret circulated a "Long Paper" and were therefore asked to appear before the meeting. On the 10th of the 11th month, 1689, "this meeting querys of them wheather they will Stand to Its Judgment Concerning what they have writt and be advised by this meeting." With their "utterly refuseing Soe to doe" it was the sense of the meeting that "they are out of unity with Gods People."¹¹²

The meeting still possessed a "godly concern upon their minds for the good of George Bowse and his wife though they have been very stubborn and willfull wholly Rejecting the love of god in friends." Therefore William Kenton, William Sockwell, John Wootters, John Ashdell, James Ridley, and Richard Hall were appointed to visit them. They reported back, in 1690, that George

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, II, 303, 309, 314.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, I, 104.

and Margaret Bowse were "still Stubborn and Selfe Willed utterly Rejecting the Advice of Friends who Dealt with them in Love and Tenderness."¹¹³

A joint quarterly meeting of Friends from both shores met at Ralph Fishbourne's house and "haveing an understanding of the Dangerous State and Condicon that George Bowse and his wife is in and the hurt that they may doe to Some, through their flattering pretending motions," recommended on the 25th of the 1st month, 1690, that the Monthly Meeting "give forth a Publick Testimony against them to Cleare the truth of them and the Spirritt by which they are acted in Opposeing friends and y^e good order of truth." This "Public Testimony" against George and Margaret Bowse was approved by the Monthly Meeting on the 2nd of the 3rd month, 1680, and ordered to be made public.¹¹⁴

Apparently George and Margaret had some influence over several other Friends for, in 1690, Richard Ratcliff, announced to the meeting that he would refrain from George Bowse's company and also condemned some earlier words "which has grieved friends." In 1694, papers condemning their action in keeping separate meetings were received by the meeting from John Wagstaff and Ralph Jackson.

In 1695, William Sharp and William Stevens expressed a concern to visit George and Margaret Bowse and asked the meeting to agree to this desire, giving approval also for William Sockwell, John Wooters, and John Pitt to accompany them. This act seems to have started the process of reconciliation to moving, for in the following year Margaret Bowse presented to the meeting "her paper of Condemnation" which was satisfactory to the meeting. The next record of this couple appears on the 28th of the 7th month, 1698:

George Bowes acquaints this Meeting that he finds drawings in his mind to Remove himself and wife into old England to Dwell saying that he does believe he may be of more service upon truths accompt there than here and therefore he desires friends unity therewith, this Meeting haveing considered the matter Signifies that they are willing to leave him to his Christian liberty in Truth.¹¹⁵

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, I, 105.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 106-107.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, I, 105, 139, 146, 157.

Talbot Quakers, like their brethren elsewhere, were quite active in spreading their religious beliefs. A number of traveling Friends are found among them. In the 2nd month, 1678, the minutes recorded that,

John Webb haveing built a boate Suitable for y^e Service of Truth and accomodating friends in y^e ministry in their Travails to Virginia or Other-ways and haveing riged and fitted her Every way for Service did Intend her for y^e Service of truth and Friends upon his Own charge, but y^e meeting Judging it to be too great a charge to Lie upon him She being for publick Service on the acc^o of truth have thought fitt and doe Judg it meete y^t John Webb Should have paid him out of y^e stock this year y^e Sum of Twenty Six hundred pounds of good tobacco and that y^e Sd boate is committed by this Meeting to y^e custody, charge and Safe Keeping of Jⁿ Webb, Wm Stevens Jun^r, Wm Sharp and Lovelace Gorsuch for y^e Service afd She and all things belonging to her properly being y^e meetings and not to be Disposed of but by order from y^e mens meetings or as y^e above-sd Friends shall See meete for y^e Service aforesaid.¹¹⁶

This boat, later named "Ye Good Will," was still in existence in 1684 when the meeting appointed Bryon Omealia and Thomas Booker to "Discourse Richard Mitchell about friends Boat called y^e good will and view her and take an accompt of her Sailes and Riggin y^t belongs unto her." They reported back, on the 4th of the 5th month, 1684, that "She is altogether unfitt for Service and will cost more to fitt her for Service than She and all belongs to her is worth." The "Good Will" was therefore sold to Henry Parrott for a hogshhead of tobacco.¹¹⁷

This interest which Talbot Quakers had in the state of the Society of Friends at home and abroad led them to approve a visit of William Berry and Stephen Keddy to Virginia in 1680—for all were troubled by "the sad Estate and Condition of the Church in Virginia," then undergoing persecution. At the same time the Monthly Meeting (including the Weekly Meetings of Betty's Cove, Tuckahoe, Bayside, and Choptank) appointed William Berry, William Richardson, and Thomas Taylor to correspond with Friends in Barbados "concerning the affairs of the church and the prosperity of truth."¹¹⁸

Still another sign of this missionary zeal and emphasis among Talbot Friends can be seen in the great number of those who accompanied Elizabeth Carter in her "Travailes to Vissitt Friends

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, I, 9.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, I, 64-65.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, I, 30-31.

in the Service of the Truth." Accompanying her on this visit to Delaware were Margaret Berry, Sarah Edmondson, Sara Pitt, Mary Omealia, John Pitt, William Southbee, Bryon Omealia, John Wooters, and Lovelace Gorsuch. In the same way William Sockwell and William Sharp, carrying a report written by John Pitt and William Berry, attended the Burlington Yearly Meeting (the forerunner of the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting) in 1686. William Kenton and Ralph Fisbourne received permission from the Monthly Meeting in 1692 to visit meetings and Friends in Pennsylvania and New Jersey. In this same year William Berry informed the meeting that his father had ordered a mare to be given to Friends for the use of "Travailing Friends." This mare, "given for Sd use by Martha Berry," was placed in the care of William Sockwell until needed.¹¹⁹

At the same time that Talbot Quakers were interested in other Quakers, one sees that they were likewise in the thoughts of Friends elsewhere. Correspondence from "our Dear friend George Fox" was "Read in this meeting to y^e great Satisfaction thereof" on the 20th of the 5th month, 1683. Another letter from Fox, accompanying General Epistles, was read in 1689. A final letter from George Fox, "our antient Friend and Faithfull Labourer in the Gospel," which had been left sealed and opened after Fox's death was read on the 5th of the 12th month, 1691. Several letters were received in 1689 and 1691 from Daniel Gould who had labored among Talbot Quakers, in 1682. The year, 1691, also brought epistles from William Penn and George Whitehead. In the eighteenth century, Talbot Friends received visits from fifty-nine travelling Friends who, much like George Fox earlier, attended the Monthly Meeting. These included such well-known Quakers as John Fothergill, in 1705, Robert Jordan, in 1719, John Woolman, in 1748 and 1766, John Churchman, in 1775, Martha Routh, in 1796, Joshua Evans, in 1797, and Elias Hicks, in 1798.¹²⁰ Other travelling Friends visited this area but did not attend Monthly Meeting—so that their names were not recorded in the minutes of the business meeting.

Talbot Quakerism showed its continued vitality in the eighteenth century by producing a number of Friends who travelled "in

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, I, 41-43, 79, 118, 121.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, I, 54, 58, 100-101, 113, 117, 221, 335, II, 26, 400-401, III, 56, 351, IV, 1, 5.

Truth's service." George Bowes visited parts of Pennsylvania, in 1705, meetings in Delaware, in 1711, and returned to Pennsylvania, in 1715 and again in 1717. In 1709, George Bowes accompanied Ennion Williams who received a certificate from the meeting to "visitt the seed of God upon y^e Eastern Shore of Maryland, Virginia and up some part of Pennsylvania." In 1711, Ennion Williams was among Pennsylvania Friends, while, in 1719, he travelled to Philadelphia and then visited Barbados toward the end of that year.¹²¹

Peter Sharp was another Talbot Quaker who travelled in the first half of the century. In 1721, he visited Friends in the eastern part of Virginia and in Pennsylvania, and two years later acquainted the meeting with the fact that "he hath sumthing upon his Spirritt to visitt the Meetings in Sum p^t of Pennsylvania and Jersey"—receiving the meeting's approval. A few years later, in 1730 and 1732, Sharp visited Friends in New England, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania.¹²²

The last Talbot Friend to travel "in Truth's Service," in the first half of the century, was Elizabeth Stevens who went to Philadelphia, in 1732, and who visited the Yearly Meeting at Salem, N. J., in 1741. In 1744, she visited Friends in Virginia and the Carolinas—the last journey recorded for her in Third Haven records, for she received a certificate of removal to Philadelphia in 1748.¹²³

Talbot Quakers produced a number of travelling Friends in the last half of the eighteenth century. One of the most widely travelled was Mary Berry who visited Friends on both the Eastern Shore and Western Shore, in 1799 or 1780; and in 1782, accompanied by Solomon Charles, she "passed through Dorchester, Somerset, Wooster, Accomak and Northampton Counties in which she had divers Publick meetings and private Opportunities amongst the People which produced peace to their Minds." In 1784, she visited families of Friends at the Queen Anne's Meeting (in the upper part of Caroline County) and some who were not Friends. Accompanied by Tristram Needles, she labored among the Cecil Monthly Meeting Friends of Kent County, in 1787, and, with Thomas Wickersham, visited Pennsylvania Quakers, in 1788. In

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, I, 223, 272, 304, 321, 251, 273, 333.

¹²² *Ibid.*, I, 352-353, 369, 430, 438, 440.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, I, 446, 514-515, 549; II, 21.

1789, Mary Berry received the permission of the Monthly Meeting for "Some religious Service to a people not professing with us in some part of Dorchester and Caroline Counties with an openness to visit some of the people called Nicolites." She was joined, in this trip to the Nicholites, by Rebeccah Bartlett, John Dickinson, and Solomon Charles. 1790 saw her, accompanied by Daniel Matthews, visiting Western Shore Friends and meetings in Virginia; and, in 1792, she made her way southward to North Carolina—accompanied by Rebeccah Bartlett, Ephraim Parvin, and Samuel Troth. Accompanied by Martha Yarnall and Tristram Needles she headed south again, in 1793, visiting "some of the Meetings of Friends on the Western Shore of Maryland and Virginia and most of those in North Carolina, and all in South Carolina and Georgia." In 1794, she visited Friends in Delaware and Annapolis and planned a trip to the West Indies, in 1795, but, because of war conditions, advanced age, and "bodily infirmaty" found it impossible to make this trip. She was still active in her religious work at the end of the century, visiting Pennsylvania Friends, in 1797, and Quaker families on the Western Shore at the close of 1799.¹²⁴

The meeting, with its two-fold function of worship and business, constituted a community which has been described as "a well-integrated group in which the individual is united to the whole as a cell is to an organism." This, as has been seen, was both a religious and economic unit—with membership bringing both privileges and obligations and a dependence upon one another for spiritual well-being and material necessities. Through it came the Quaker code of behavior; the enlightened conscience and social concerns of the group and its members; the Quaker doctrine of equality, "an equality of respect, and the resulting absence of all words and behavior based on class, racial, or social distinctions";¹²⁵ simplicity of worship, speech, and life; and harmony within the meeting.

Talbot Friends were a branch of a much larger family—the Society of Friends, which only a few years after its founding spread rapidly on both sides of the Atlantic. This sense of relation-

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, III, 116 *et passim*; IV, 2-3, 41.

¹²⁵ Howard Brinton, *Friends for 300 Years: The History and Beliefs of the Society of Friends since George Fox Started the Quaker Movement* (New York, 1952), p. 118. See the chapter "The Meeting Community," pp. 118-143.

ship to other Quakers, demonstrated both by visits and correspondence to and from Friends elsewhere, was very much alive in the colonial period.

At the same time that Talbot Quakers existed, in a sense, as a separated community, they were also very much a part of the life around them. Important merchants, planters, tobacco "dealers," and public officials were to be found among them—in spite of the difficulties stemming from their opposition to oaths and the established church. Probably few Friends outside the Quaker colonies were as successful as Talbot Quakers in public life during this age. Talbot Quakerism, a strong and growing movement throughout the whole colonial period, was quite influential in the life of the greater community in which it existed.

It is more difficult to judge the deeper aspect of the religion of Talbot Quakers in this age. They possessed no well-known interpreters of Quakerism. Sometimes the "letter of the law" became more important than the spirit so that too much concern over dress, plain speech, and some other testimonies is sometimes seen. Yet, as one reads the minutes of Third Haven Monthly Meeting, he senses something very vital about the individual and corporate religious life of Talbot Quakers. In the eighteenth century, when organized religion was at a low ebb, according to the Journals of travelling ministers, a Quaker center was often viewed as "a lively remnant in the land." Rufus Jones' evaluation of Quakers in the South during this period seems to be valid for Talbot Quakers:

They were more sensitive, I think, than their neighbours to the meaning of social evils, and they were more intensely concerned to be in harmony with the will of God. They failed, where so many others have failed, by building little tabernacles over their mounts of vision, by trying to keep for themselves a Light meant for the race, and by failing to grasp, *intelligently*, their principle of religion, which became to them a kind of fetish, untranslatable to the world about them; but they did bless the world by producing here and there, now and then, specimens of personal lives, penetrated by the Spirit of Christ, radiant with His Light, taking upon themselves the burdens of the world and living in a busy and material world as though they knew that their main business here was to help to bring in the kingdom of peace and love and brotherhood. In so far as they did *that*, they succeeded.¹²⁶

¹²⁶ Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 328, cites Samuel Fothergill's *Memoirs* (p. 166) where he also calls them "purified hearts in which the word of God grows."



BLOOMSBURY TODAY

BLOOMSBURY, A CRADOCK HOUSE IN THE WORTHINGTON VALLEY

By WILLIAM VOSS ELDER, III

A FEW miles from the village of Glyndon in Baltimore County and in the western end of the Worthington Valley there stands a two story brick colonial house whose early history has only recently come to light. The original name of the plantation was *Bloomsbury*, and it was the home of a branch of the Cradock family during the last half of the eighteenth century. The house is an excellent example of its architectural period, and of equal interest is the history of the land.

The first member of the family to come to America was the Reverend Thomas Cradock who in 1743 assumed the duties of rector of the newly founded St. Thomas Church in Garrison Forest, built as a chapel of ease for the "Forest inhabitants" of St. Paul's Parish in Baltimore. Thomas Cradock soon married Catherine Risteau, the daughter of Capt. John Risteau of Baltimore County. As a wedding present from his new father-in-law Thomas Cradock received the tract of land called *Trentam* which borders on the Reisterstown Road at Garrison and is still owned by the Cradock family.

Four children were born to Thomas and Catherine Cradock, three sons and one daughter. Arthur Cradock, the eldest son, was to have entered the ministry but he died unexpectedly in 1769 at the age of only twenty one. The other sons, John and Thomas Cradock, both studied to be physicians. They attended medical school in Philadelphia, and in addition were instructed by a Doctor Randall Hulse. Doctor Hulse had practised medicine in England before coming to Maryland, where he and his wife went to live with the Cradocks at *Trentam*. At this time Reverend Thomas Cradock was conducting a boys boarding school at *Trentam* and possibly Dr. Hulse was there to help with their

education. This school was in existence until Reverend Cradock's death, and it is said to have been attended by the sons of many leading Maryland colonial families.

Reverend Thomas Cradock died in 1770, and under the provisions of his will,¹ Thomas Cradock received the home plantation, *Trentam*, and John Cradock received the land his father owned in the Worthington Valley. This land and the house upon it was soon to be known as *Bloomsbury*, and here Doctor John Cradock lived until his death in 1794.²

This land in the western end of the Worthington Valley had been purchased by Reverend Thomas Cradock from Roger Boyce³ on April 10, 1761. It was part of a large tract of land called *Nicholson's Manor* which had been patented to William Nicholson an Annapolis merchant, on June 20, 1719.⁴ *Nicholson's Manor* contained 4400 acres, and with two other tracts of land, *Shawan Hunting Ground* and *Welsh's Cradle*, occupied the entire area of land that has come to be known as the Worthington Valley, stretching eastward from Glyndon to Cockeysville. These three tracts of land were all patented within the first twenty years of the eighteenth century, while the land to the north was for the most part held in Lord Baltimore's Reserve until the time of The American Revolution.⁵ Of these three tracts of land only one, *Shawan Hunting Ground*, was settled by its original patentee. *Welsh's Cradle* was repatented by the Worthington family, and *Nicholson's Manor* lay idle for many years until it was seized by the provincial government for forfeiture of taxes and then repatented.

William Nicholson died on September 5, 1719, only four months after he had patented *Nicholson's Manor*. He was a wealthy and prominent Annapolis merchant who had large land holdings in the town and in Anne Arundel County. He obviously patented *Nicholson's Manor* out of speculation without ever intending to live there. The patent covered the western end of Worthington

¹ Hall of Records, Annapolis, Wills 37, f. 394.

² This information and other material on the Cradock Family can be found in the Cradock Papers, MS, Maryland Historical Society.

³ Baltimore County Land Records, Hall of Records, Annapolis B. no. L, f. 182.

⁴ Baltimore County Land Records, P. L. no. 4, f. 413.

⁵ The actual reserve line practically fell on the northern boundary of *Nicholson's Manor*.

Valley, and then after skirting to the north of *Welsh's Cradle* and *Shawan Hunting Ground* it fanned out into a large tract stretching eastward practically to the York Road. The outline of the tract shows that Nicholson patented all of the best land that had not been included in earlier surveys.

The children of William Nicholson were very young at his death and apparently neither they nor their guardians took any interest in the land in Baltimore County. Approximately thirty years later in the Maryland Gazette of November 18, 1749,⁶ *Nicholson's Manor* was advertised for sale by the heirs of William Nicholson. No improvements or appurtenances were mentioned. Apparently there were no bidders for in 1757 by a deed of bargain and sale⁷ Benjamin Tasker, Esq., of the city of Annapolis granted the 4400 acres of *Nicholson's Manor* to four persons, Kinsey Johns, Corbin Lee, Roger Boyce, and Brian Philpot. The land was received by seizure and possession. In turn these four men divided the land into four sections, with each section further divided into three lots, one in the eastern, one in the central, and one in the western part of the entire tract. The end result was that each of the four men had three lots unconnected but which totalled over a thousand acres.⁸ The location of each lot had been predetermined before the men drew for the location of their lands.

In 1758, one year after he had received the land, Corbin Lee conveyed his third or westerly lot to Roger Boyce.⁹ Two of the four westerly lots were then owned by Roger Boyce, but on April 10, 1761, he conveyed the two tracts of land to Reverend Thomas Cradock.¹⁰ The "bargained pieces of land with all their "premises and appurtenances" were bought by Cradock for two hundred pounds sterling. The total area of both tracts was 676 acres. The Cradock house *Bloomsbury* stands on the western lot that had originally been assigned to Roger Boyce.

It is most likely that *Bloomsbury* was built by Reverend Thomas Cradock shortly after he had purchased the land in 1761. Reverend Cradock lived at *Trentam* until his death in 1770, but undoubtedly

⁶ The writer is indebted to Mr. William B. Marye for this reference, taken from his article, "The Great Maryland Barrens," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, L (Sept., 1955).

⁷ Baltimore County Land Records, B no. G, f. 10.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ *Ibid.*, B. no. G, f. 204.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, B, no. I, f. 182.

Bloomsbury had been quickly developed into a producing plantation. Reverend Cradock's will further strengthens this belief. The eldest son Arthur Cradock had died one year before his father. Consequently, Dr. John Cradock, the second son, was the likely heir to the home plantation *Trentam*. However, in his will Reverend Cradock expressed the desire that John Cradock receive instead the land on *Nicholson's Manor*. Although he had the privilege of choosing whichever tract he desired, John Cradock never-the-less chose the land on *Nicholson's Manor*.

Thus it would seem that in 1770 *Bloomsbury* was as equally desirable and valuable as *Trentam*. Only a suitably constructed dwelling house could make such a comparison possible. In the will of Thomas Cradock both *Trentam* and *Bloomsbury* are spoken of as plantations equipped with all of the necessary tools and stock. Since he was twenty one years of age at his father's death, John Cradock may have been living at *Bloomsbury*, built by Thomas Cradock in anticipation of leaving both sons equally provided for.

Dr. John Cradock was born at *Trentam* in 1749.¹¹ In 1775, at the age of twenty five he married Anne Worthington, the daughter of John and Mary Todd Worthington. She was sixteen years of age at the time. Doctor Cradock was active during the American Revolution and was a member of The Committee of Observation from 1774 to 1775. Before his sudden death in 1794 he was a devoted physician working with Dr. Weisenthal of Baltimore administering to the poor of Baltimore County. Dr. Cradock was buried in the family lot at St. Thomas Church. He was survived by his wife and two children, Arthur and Catherine Cradock.

The Tax Records of 1798¹² for The Upper Back River Hundred list Anne Cradock as the owner and occupant of *Bloomsbury*. At this date the plantation contained only 338 acres, one half of its original size. The land and improvements were valued at five hundred pounds. Thirty seven years earlier in 1761 twice as much land had been purchased for only two hundred pounds, indicating that most likely the dwelling house was built by the Cradocks

¹¹ The Cradock Papers.

¹² The Tax Records for the Upper Back River Hundred of 1798, MS, Maryland Historical Society.

and not at an earlier date. According to the Tax Records the following buildings were standing at *Bloomsbury* in 1798:

- 1 brick dwelling house, 2 stories 26 x 48 feet
- 1 stone kitchen, 1 story 18 x 30 feet
- 1 log house 14 x 16, old frame house 14 x 14

Measurements of the existing brick house at *Bloomsbury* correspond to those given for the dwelling house but all of the other structures have disappeared.

Bloomsbury has suffered over the years through the ownership of many families, each making additions and alterations. The original floor plan has been changed but enough structural evidence remains to indicate its original form. The plan would seem to be of an earlier date than the actual building of the house and was very similar to that of *Larkins Hills*, a late seventeenth century house in Anne Arundel County. However, the architectural styles of the upper bay counties were often many years behind those of Southern Maryland and the Eastern Shore. Often, as in the case of *Bloomsbury*, a seemingly early floor plan was the result of the size of the house and its intended use.

In its original state *Bloomsbury* had three rooms on the first floor. One entered a combination entrance hall and sitting room that ran parallel to the main axis of the house. Behind this room there was an enclosed stairway and a small room that might have served as a kitchen or dining room.¹⁸ The entrance to the stairhall was directly in line with the front door. Two adjoining cater-cornered fireplaces provided the necessary heat for the hall and the room behind it. These fireplaces have been removed but the cater-cornered brick arches and the hearth supports can still be seen in the cellar. To the left of the front door and accessible from both the entrance hallway and the enclosed stairway was a large living room which occupied half of the first floor area. This room is the same size today after restoration. On the outside end wall there is a wide arched brick fireplace surrounded by panelling and flanked by two inset cupboards.

In the middle of the nineteenth century the summer beam sup-

¹⁸ The brickwork on the exterior wall of this room shows that a doorway has been bricked up. Perhaps it led to the stone kitchen mentioned in the Tax Records of 1798.

porting the ceiling of the living room cracked and was replaced by a partition running lengthwise across the center of the room. The fireplace now cut in half and useless was bricked up. If the panelling had been allowed to remain in view, it would have been irregular in design and one wonders why it was not removed entirely. Instead it was covered over by new plaster walls in each room. The panelling was flush with the front of the chimney and perhaps it was spared to prevent a projecting chimney corner in each room. Consequently, when the present owners of *Bloomsbury* removed the partition in the living room and began to search for a fireplace in the outside wall, they discovered this original panelling that had been covered over nearly a hundred years earlier.

All of the other interior woodwork and trim has disappeared over the years except for the panelled frame around the front door. The front double doors are original, but all of the others in the house are of recent date. Remains of interior window shutters were found in a barn on the place and their previous existence is further supported by the memory of a colored man whose family until recent years had always lived at *Bloomsbury*. He can also remember when other rooms on the first floor were panelled in the same fashion as the living room.

The living room panelling is of a simple design. It is made up of large rectilinear panels with bolection joints and is topped by a heavy cornice, restored to its original appearance by the present owners. The panelling extends to within six inches of the arched fireplace opening in its restored state, but during the nineteenth century alterations the original line of the panelling above the fireplace was changed and it was only by conjecture that it was arched to follow the top of the fireplace opening.

On the exterior of *Bloomsbury* one immediately notices the size of the first floor windows. The double hung sashes contain twelve panes of glass over eight, and all of the first floor windows on the front of the house are original. Above these first floor windows are rubbed and gauged bricks, an architectural feature unique in this area of Baltimore County, but prevalent at this date in many Annapolis buildings. The thin window frames and muntin bars are also of a more advanced building style than those of other buildings in the Worthington Valley of similar date. Again when

compared to the style of the windows and the rubbed brick dressings the existing panelling at *Bloomsbury* would appear to be of an earlier date. The answer to such discrepancies undoubtedly can be reached by realizing the resources at hand and the intended purpose of a structure will in large part dictate the resultant architectural style, not the period in which the house might have been built. The front porch at *Bloomsbury* is a later addition by the present owners, designed from what evidence remained of an earlier porch. The foundation walls at *Bloomsbury* are of local fieldstone, and in some places in the cellar their thickness exceeds three feet. A few feet above ground level on the exterior of the house a water table is formed by one row of molded bricks in quarter moon shape. The front and rear walls of *Bloomsbury* are laid in flemish bond, and in the end walls rows of all headers divided every three rows of ordinary bond. The house has been painted many times, making it impossible to determine whether or not there may be a glazed pattern formed by the flemish bond of the front and rear walls.

The two story brick addition to *Bloomsbury* was built some time after 1798, as it is not mentioned in the tax records of that year. Most likely this addition dates from the opening years of the nineteenth century when the property was owned by the Worthington family. Remains of a foundation wall, discovered by the present owners, show that another wing existed to the right of the house. This also would have to date from the time of the Worthingtons. Other old structures which have disappeared from *Bloomsbury* are a large stone slave house which stood down in the meadow to the left of the house and an early nineteenth century brick barn which burnt to the ground a few years ago.

Before his death, in 1794, Dr. John Cradock was in very poor financial condition. Probably his generosity and devotion in treating the sick had prevented proper management of his plantation and a sufficient livelihood from medicine. In the same years, as his death he had mortgaged *Bloomsbury*¹⁴ to his brother, Dr. Thomas Cradock. At his death in 1794, Dr. John Cradock left a son, Arthur Cradock, only twelve years of age. Arthur Cradock and his mother continued to live at *Bloomsbury*, and twelve years

¹⁴ Baltimore County Land Records, W. G. no. pp, f. 94.

later on March 21, 1806, Dr. Thomas Cradock deeded¹⁵ the property to Arthur Cradock for the sum of \$7359. Obviously the land had been held in guardianship by Dr. Thomas Cradock until his nephew came of age. Four days after this transaction Arthur Cradock re-mortgaged the property to his uncle and cousin Thomas Cradock Walker for \$3200.¹⁶ This new mortgage was in the nature of a family agreement, for the two gentlemen were to be "tenants in common for the next 500 years" and were to receive a yearly rent of one pepper corn on the feast of St. Michael, the Archangel.

Three and a half years later on September 14, 1809,¹⁷ Dr. Thomas Cradock deeded *Bloomsbury* to Arthur Cradock, who on the same day sold the property to John Tolley Worthington for \$10,000.¹⁸ This property and other tracts of adjoining lands also purchased by Worthington were then incorporated into one large tract and given the name of *The Cottage* or *Welcome Here*.¹⁹ This latter name is used by the present owners of *Bloomsbury*.

John Tolley Worthington made his home at *Montmorenci*, the large stuccoed fieldstone house and the best known of all the Worthington houses in the valley. It is unknown who occupied *Bloomsbury* immediately after he purchased the land. The new name, *The Cottage*, given to the property implies that perhaps the house was used only on occasions or was perhaps occupied by some of John Tolley Worthington's family. When the word cottage is applied to a building one usually thinks of a house of only one or one and a half stories in height. The second floor windows at *Bloomsbury* while not of recent date are quite unlike those of the first story, and possibly they are from a time when the roof was raised to a full two stories. It is impossible to trace any alteration in the exterior brick work because of the successive applications of paint. Also since all of the interior trim, with the exception of that of the living room, has been removed and replaced, it is not possible to find evidence for raising the roof in different architectural trims. Perhaps if someday the layers of

¹⁵ Baltimore County Land Records, Baltimore Court House W. G. 89, f. 194.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, W. G. 104, f. 369.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, W. G. 104, f. 371.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

paint are removed an original gambrel roof line will show in the brickwork.

Through the Worthingtons, *Bloomsbury* was inherited by the Love family, and then changed hands again in the nineteenth century before it came to be owned by the Geist family. They lived at *Bloomsbury* for nearly a hundred years, until the property was purchased by Mr. and Mrs. Charles W. Williams in 1948. Since then the house and the property have been greatly improved without being over restored. To the right of the house Mr. and Mrs. Williams have designed a formal sunken garden with a high brick wall separating it from the fields beyond. The grounds have been beautifully landscaped and once more *Bloomsbury* is cared for as it must have been in the days it was owned by the Cradock family.

AN EXTRACT FROM THE JOURNAL OF
MRS. HUGH H. LEE OF WINCHESTER,
VA., MAY 23-31, 1862

Edited by C. A. PORTER HOPKINS

ONE of the most interesting accounts of civilian life in the South during the Civil War is contained in the journal of Mrs. Hugh Holmes Lee of Winchester which has lain for many years in the Maryland Historical Society with only an occasional student aware of its existence. The journal describes the Winchester and Frederick County scene from early March 1862 until February 1865 when Mrs. Lee and other members of her household were banished from the area by Major General Sheridan for "giving constant annoyance, either from the sake of notoriety or from want of reflection or a want of being true to themselves."¹ The original journal was written in ink in a neat hand so small as to almost necessitate the constant use of a magnifying glass when reading it. The typescript, which is in the possession of the Maryland Historical Society through the kindness of Mrs. D. M. Skinner, formerly of Baltimore, now of Princeton, N. J., runs to six hundred and fifty-one pages, of which the section included here is but thirteen pages. Those thirteen pages, however, deal with one of the most exciting times of the war in Winchester, commencing on Friday night, May 23rd, 1862, and ending Saturday, May 31st.

Mary Charlton Greenhow was born in Richmond, September 9, 1819, the daughter of Robert Greenhow and his second wife, Jane Charlton of Williamsburg.² On May 18, 1843, Mary Charlton

¹ Headquarters Middle Military Division. Special Order Number 47, Extract 7, February 23, 1865. A photostatic copy of this order is in the possession of descendants.

² This and all other information on the family of Mrs. Lee not otherwise noted is to be found in private papers in the possession of Mrs. D. M. Skinner (Mary Greenhow Lee Poe) of Princeton, N. J., to whom the Maryland Historical Society is indebted for the possession and use of the journal.

Greenhow married Hugh Holmes Lee, son of Daniel and Elizabeth Lee, of Winchester, Virginia. Hugh Lee died in 1858, and his widow, having no children of her own, made her home with her two sisters-in-law, helping them bring up four motherless children of another sister, Mrs. Philip Lewis Burwell of Carters Grove. The Lee home in Winchester was a center of Southern sympathy and activities, and in her daily accounts Mrs. Lee mentions many Confederate officers and men who partook of her hospitality.

After the war Mrs. Lee moved to Baltimore with many other Southern people, and there made her home at 806 Saint Paul Street. According to papers in the possession of her great niece, Mrs. D. M. Skinner, of Princeton, N. J., she was one of the organizers of the Daughters of the Confederacy and an officer of the Baltimore Chapter until her death in 1906. She also served as secretary of the "Southern Education Society" which assisted in the rebuilding of destroyed Southern schools, and through many other acts of kindness endeared herself to the people of Baltimore. Less well-known than her half-brother's wife, "Rebel Rose," her name may one day become as famous if the proper biographer comes along.

The section which follows deals with the occupation and evacuation of Winchester by General Thomas Jonathan "Stonewall" Jackson in May of 1862. That general, after much adroit manoeuvring in the early spring, had concealed his plans from General Nathaniel P. Banks, the Federal Commander in the Valley, and marched by way of the Luray Valley to within ten miles of Front Royal by the 22nd of May. Here on the afternoon of the 23rd, Colonel John R. Kenly of the First Maryland (Federal) Regiment with 1,000 men and two guns was overwhelmed by a force which contained, among other units, the First Maryland Regiment, C. S. A.^a This action, in effect, flanked General Banks at Strasburgh, and his rapid evacuation of that place commenced.

The 24th of May was spent fighting down the Valley Turnpike towards Winchester as the finally aroused Banks hurried his army away from what seemed to be annihilation. At three o'clock, an

^a Colonel G. F. R. Henderson, *Stonewall Jackson And The American Civil War* (2 vol.; New York, 1913), I, 310-320. General Jackson's report is to be found in *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, D. C., 1880-1901), Series 1, XII, Part 1, 701-709, hereafter cited O. R.

hour before dawn, on the 25th of May, Jackson finally halted his tired army. The attack came soon after as the mists rose from the low areas surrounding Winchester, and in a short time the streets of Winchester echoed to the joyous shouts of the happy people. For detailed accounts of the action at Winchester and the week that followed, the reader is referred to Colonel G. F. R. Henderson's *Stonewall Jackson and the American Civil War*, Volume I, and the *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, Series I, Volume XII, Part I.

The editor has made no changes from the original manuscripts except where indicated by brackets. Those persons not further identified by footnotes are either citizens of Winchester mentioned only one time, or they have exhausted the sources available to the editor. It is hoped that additional extracts will be edited from time to time, as so brief a section cannot possibly give the full flavor of the journal.

Friday night [May 23, 1862]—The Yankees are still here & also a thousand rumours about Jackson; one is, that he is certainly at Blues [Gap]; Banks is certainly in a trap, between [Richard S.] Ewell on one side, & Jackson on the other. The papers, or rather the extracts from the Northern & foreign papers, are most delightful; they furnish us not only comfort, but so much amusement. There is an idea that Jackson will be here tomorrow night; I am perfectly confident that our deliverance is near, & I am one moment all activity to try to get things in readiness for them, & then again so overcome, by the first warm weather, that I am almost incapable of exertion. Of course all arrangements & plans are very different for the two dynasties. What glorious accounts we have from Richmond, & how my heart warms to my dear old home. I love to think of you as being there. No particular home news to-day; I had a nice fruit cake made to send Mrs. Taylor; she has been so kind & saved so much money for us, in purchases she has made in Baltimore. Still later, as the telegrams say, there is great excitement to-night; wagons are coming in; cavalry dashing by & we have put out our lights to reconnoitre; there is a sentinel opposite my windows, & we can hear him questioning the passers by; there has been some fight at Front Royal, & when the man was asked what was the issue, the reply was, I cannot tell; but it was evident it was nothing favourable. We live in such strange times; in a town held by our enemies—in hourly expectation of the arrival of a vanquished army, which may probably be allowed to wreak its vengeance on our town, if they have time—& without any protection of any kind, & still not afraid. In God is my trust.

Saturday night [May 24]—No lack of excitement to-day; when shall we ever lie down in peace, & rise in security. I was awake nearly all

night; the constant passing on the street, of men in a high state of excitement, firing off pistols; & to add to the alarming sounds, Willoughby Jackson had a crazy spell in the night, & I heard shrieks & screams for which I could not account till the morning; altogether it was a most uncomfortable night; before I rose this morning, Mrs. Barton⁴ came over in a great state of excitement to tell us that we had had a glorious victory at Front Royal; the particulars collected during the day are, that a portion of Ewell's division made a clean sweep on the force at Front Royal & Almost annihilated them; of the 4th. Maryland regiment it is said, there are but ten left; the rest being killed, wounded or captured. A Pennsylvania Regt. the New York Cavalry & a portion of the Michigan⁵ was also in the fight, & suffered terribly; we took \$200,000 worth of stores; from all I can learn, it was the rear guard of [James] Shield's Division, which has gone to join [Irvin] McDowell. During the whole day, Bank's army has been coming in & he & his staff arrived this evening. They are either preparing for an immediate evacuation, or for a fight; God grant it may be the former. I have not nerve enough to go through with all the terrible scenes connected with another battle; if any, it will be here & so much more terrible, as the numbers engaged would be so much greater. Our army, between thirty & forty thousand, is near us on every side & messages here have been received from them saying, they will very soon be here. No one knows exactly where Jackson is; Col. Jackson,⁶ from Kanawha, is near with a force under his command. There is a rumour afloat that Winchester is to be burnt to-night & there is considerable panic, chiefly amongst the servants. One of the Yankee stories told to the negroes to-day is, that "Mr. Jackson" is killing all the negroes, men, women & children; this is their last resort to frighten off those who have still remained at their homes. There was a report circulated this morning, that no one was to be allowed to triumph, or evince any symptoms of joy, or they would be shot down. A long train of baggage wagons was passing our door, & in full retreat, & we were at the parlour windows, looking at them, & I know I was smiling & very jubilant; one of the soldiers, a bright, pleasant looking youth, laughed, & called out to me, "I am going home;" I told him, I was very glad to hear it. I have never felt subjugated, or afraid to say or do anything I wanted, till to-day; my impulse was to hurra for Jeff Davis, to every one who passed, but I really was afraid for the consequences. My only fear has been, the retreat through this place, & of an infuriated & defeated army, & the time for it has come.

⁴ Mrs. David W. Barton, the mother of David and Marshall Barton. lived near the Lee house in Winchester. T. K. Cartmell, *Shenandoah Valley Pioneers and Their Descendants. A History of Frederick County, Virginia* (Winchester, Va., 1909), p. 298.

⁵ These outfits were the First Maryland Regiment Volunteers, two companies of the Fifth New York Cavalry, two companies of the Twenty-ninth Pennsylvania Volunteers, a section of two guns, Battery E, Pennsylvania Light Artillery, and a portion of the Pioneer Corps under a Captain Mapes. *O. R.*, Series 1, XII, Part 1, 555-566.

⁶ Colonel William L. Jackson is listed as a volunteer aide-de-camp on the staff of General Thomas J. Jackson, *ibid.*, 716.

To-morrow, Sunday, I fear the battle will be fought, unless the Yankees go to-night; they are passing by this moment in large numbers. What an inexpressible relief it would be to find them all gone in the morning. I confess that I feel a little nervous to-night; are you surprised at it, or do you think me cowardly; I should be brave, if I had to act; but sitting in my lonely little room, at this late hour, I do feel so utterly unprotected, in the midst of danger. I must look above for help & strength.

Tuesday morning [May 27]—12 o'clock—Joy, joy, dearest Jeannie;⁷ the battle has been fought; the victory won; we are free; our precious soldiers are here, in Winchester, with us all the time, morning, noon & night; & the scenes of last summer are being enacted again, intensified a thousand fold by all we have undergone, in the last two months. If I were to write volumes, I could not tell you the sensations or events of the last two days. I have tried in vain to find a moment to write to you, & this is the first breathing spell I have had. Lal⁸ has gone out walking with Ranny McKim,⁹ the loveliest boy in the world; & Lute¹⁰ is entertaining Capt. Murray,¹¹ (Ida's friend.) Wood McDonald¹² & Blackford;¹³ & I have no pressing call this moment—but I must go back to Sunday morning. All Saturday night the Yankees were dashing about the streets in the wildest confusion. I was awake nearly all night, but fell asleep towards day-break; the first sound I heard, before sun-rise, was the sound of the cannon; I thought there would be fighting all day & determined to stay in bed, as long as I could, to try to shorten the time, but it was in

⁷ Mrs. Lee commenced her journal on March 11, 1862, by writing 'I know not how a letter can be sent, or to whom to address it, as our Post Office is removed to Harrisonburgh, but I feel as if it would help to pass away these dreadful hours of suspense, to tell to some sympathising friend the fluctuations of hope, fear and despair during the last twenty-four hours.' Jeannie, as yet unidentified, was the 'sympathizing friend.'

⁸ Laura Lee Burwell (1840-1887) daughter of Philip Lewis Burwell of Carter's Grove.

⁹ Randolph Harrison McKim (1842-1920) of "Belvidere," Baltimore, at this time Color-Sergeant of Company H, First Maryland Infantry, C. S. A. For a most interesting account of his experiences during the war, see *A Soldier's Recollections: Leaves From The Diary of A Young Confederate* (New York, 1911).

¹⁰ Louisa Carter Burwell (1838-1883), Lal Burwell's sister, who later married Dr. Benjamin Mellichamp Cromwell, a Confederate Army surgeon.

¹¹ William H. Murray, commanding Company H, First Maryland Infantry, C. S. A., afterwards killed at Gettysburg leading Company A in a charge on Culp's Hill. W. W. Goldsborough, *The Maryland Line in the Confederate Army 1861-1865* (Baltimore, 1900), pp. 15, 110.

¹² Craig Woodrow McDonald, son of Colonel Angus W. McDonald and Leacy Ann Naylor of Winchester, Va., was killed at the battle of the Chichahominy, June 25, 1862. Hunter McDonald, *A Diary with Reminiscences of the War and Refugee Life in the Shenandoah Valley 1860-1865* (Nashville, 1934), pp. xi, 82.

¹³ Private Launcelot M. Blackford, who joined the Rockbridge Artillery September 2, 1861, was one of five brothers serving in the Confederate Army, whose letters have been the source of two volumes, *War Years With J. E. B. Stuart* (New York, 1945) and *Letters From Lee's Army* (New York, 1947). For a history of the Rockbridge Artillery see *Southern Historical Society Papers* (38 vol.; Richmond, Va., 1876-1910) XXIII, 98-158, hereafter cited S. H. S. P.

vain; I got up & hurried on my clothes, & the first sight I saw, on going on the porch, was a litter passing with a horribly mutilated object on it. That was but the beginning; numbers were constantly brought by, & carried to the Union Hospital. The firing got nearer & nearer, but we still continued on the porch; suddenly there was a cry of fire, & we saw the flames bursting out of the roof of Goontz's Commissary building, & every one thought it the beginning of the execution of the threat, the Yankees had made, to burn the town before they left. Fortunately, it was very still, & the flames did not come towards us, but I did not think of any danger to us, till some Yankees passed by & told the servants, on the pavement, that the magazine, which was full of powder & shells, would soon catch & they had better go out of town. I felt inclined to doubt it, as their own sick & wounded were at the Union immediately opposite, & I did not think they were fiendish enough to blow up their own men, but I did them injustice, in attributing to them feelings of humanity. The magazine was in Goontz's house, & their intention was to blow up the town. A Yankee officer seeing us very much excited rode up, & asked what was the matter, & we pointed to the fire & told him our danger, & he looked in earnest, & sorry for us, & rode back to make inquiries; but there was a guard placed around, to prevent any attempts to put out the fire. Nettie¹⁴ & Lal insisted on it that we ought to pack up some clothes, so that we might not be entirely destitute if the house was burnt up; I had a trunk brought down, & put in one dress, but I could not think of anything but the battle & flew to the porch again; there, the first sight that greeted my eyes, was the Yankee artillery, in full retreat; I ran to tell the girls that all danger was over; I forgot the magazine; everything except that the Yankees were defeated & running, & our men coming. After the Artillery came Cavalry, then Infantry, double-quicking, through the middle of the streets, & on our pavement, & we standing on our steps in the midst of them; one officer called out, "ladies they were too many for us," & I said I was so glad to hear it & told him good-bye. I had expected that they would fire on us, if they were ever driven out of Winchester, but I forgot everything, but the joy of our deliverance. I know I looked delighted, but I did not utter a word of triumph, over our fallen foe. As the last regiment wheeled around Fletcher's corner, there was for about a minute perfect silence; then came the sound of firing & some one told us to run in; they were firing on the streets; I went in the front door & as I turned to shut it, I saw the leaves falling from the maple tree, immediately in front of the door, so close was the shot to where I was standing. I opened the parlour window & as I did so a Confederate soldier dashed a Yankee knapsack on the steps & asked me to take care of it; then we all rushed out & the streets resounded with our shouts & cheers as soldier after soldier, our own men, came rushing by; we shook hands with all who would stop long enough; no regiment followed on our street but officers & soldiers dashed by in hot haste after the retreating foe. I saw one ride by & in

¹⁴ Antoinette Lee (1820-1880), unmarried sister-in-law of Mrs. Hugh H. Lee.

a few moments heard the sound of a musket, & he returned riding slowly & I saw he was wounded; I stopped him directly & persuaded him to dismount, brought him home & ran for Dr. Baldwin;¹⁶ it proved to be Lt. Col. Dorsey⁶¹ of the 1st. Maryland Regt. he is not dangerously wounded; the ball passed through the top of his shoulder without injuring the bone, but I do not think he will be able to move for some time—that is to say to travel; it is unfortunate as I hear he was to have been married the 1st of May. He is a very pleasant gentleman, & I am so glad to have the Marylanders here & to have the opportunity of returning in a slight degree the kindness of the Baltimoreans to our poor boys at Fort Delaware. But I must go back to Sunday morning; during the interval of time that elapsed while Col. Dorsey was being shot after having passed our house, we were at Dr. Baldwin's corner & suddenly I heard a shout of joy & looking around saw Col. Baylor¹⁷ running at full speed & his leg covered with blood; he just stopped long enough to shake hands, begged us not to stop him, & said his horse had been shot under him, on Oliver Brown's pavement, but that he must go on after his Regt., he said the blood was from his horse. After the Yankees were fairly out of town, the next thing to be done was to have breakfast ready, for our famished men. We had not thought of it for ourselves. Our army went a short distance out of town, the Cavalry pursuing the enemy, & taking crowds of prisoners; up to the present time, there have been 2000 prisoners taken. My intense joy at seeing the Yankees running out of town, was checked by the dread of hearing of our loss; I felt some friend was lost. David Barton¹⁸ came by & told us his brother Marshall¹⁹ was killed; Mrs. Barton was on the pavement, with us, in joyous spirits, not knowing that the 1st. Brigade had been in the battle; she thought it was Ewell's division alone; David

¹⁶ Dr. Robert T. Baldwin lived in a large stone house on the corner of Cameron and Picadilly Streets, only a few doors from the home of Mrs. Lee. Cartmell, *op. cit.*, p. 298.

¹⁶ Captain Edward R. Dorsey formed a company in Richmond at the beginning of the war which became Company C of the First Maryland Infantry, C. S. A. He was promoted to Major July 21, 1861, and to Lieutenant Colonel March 18, 1862. Following his wound at Winchester he did not return to his Maryland command. Goldsborough, *op. cit.*, pp. 46, 72.

¹⁷ Colonel W. S. H. Baylor of Staunton commanded the Fifth Regiment Virginia Volunteers, two companies of which were raised in Winchester and used as scouts in the pre-dawn approach on May 25. Colonel Baylor's report of the battle of Winchester is to be found in *O. R.*, Series 1, XII, Part 1, 747.

¹⁸ David R. Barton enlisted in the Rockbridge Artillery as a private June 27, 1861, was promoted to Lieutenant August 19, 1862, and transferred to Cutshaw's Battery which merged with Carpenter's Battery, originally known as the Allegheny Roughs. He was killed at the battle of Fredericksburg, December 13, 1862. C. A. Fonerden, *History of Carpenter's Battery of the Stonewall Brigade, 1861-65* (New Market, Va., 1911).

¹⁹ In his report of the battle, General Charles S. Winder, commanding the Stonewall (First) Brigade, comments on the death of Lieutenant Marshall Barton: "The gallant Cutshaw and Barton fell wounded at the same moment, the latter mortally, within sight of his home, containing all most dear to him, for which he was so manfully and courageously fighting, having won the esteem and admiration of all and met a soldier's death in this our glorious cause" (*O. R.*, Series 1, XII, Part 1, 737).

told her Marshall was badly wounded, but when she heard of his death she bore it with the most perfect composure, & staid on the porch, giving our soldiers bread & coffee as they passed. Marshall was brought in about 10 o'clock; he was killed near Mrs. Hollingsworths; Alcinda²⁰ was with him when he died; he only lived half an hour; his last word was, "mother." Mrs. Barton staid down stairs all day Sunday, & has been all the time more wonderfully nerved up, than you could have imagined possible. She says she gave her sons to her country & that she must not murmur at the sacrifice. Marshal's funeral was from our church yesterday evening, it was a military funeral, Col. Baylor's band was in attendance. Cutshaw,²¹ Marshal's Capt. was badly wounded; he is at Mr. Bartons. I digress so often that I fear I shall lose the thread of my narrative. By the time breakfast was ready, Sunday morning I found numbers to eat it; the names of many of my guests I do not know. There were Col. Dorsey & Ranny McKim, & Berkeley Minor²² first. Ranny is one of the loveliest youths I ever saw; he has been staying with me till this evening, when he left most reluctantly, but he had imperative orders to return to camp. I know you will be sorry to hear of Bob McKim's²³ death; you remember the bright boy so much like our Bob; we saw him last at the Clothing room where he brought an overcoat. We heard of his death before breakfast, but Ranny did not know it; some one came in & told him, & it was touching to see his distress; a moment before he had said, how much he would enjoy a good, comfortable breakfast, but the shock made him put away his plate at once. Bob was carried to Mr. Williams, from which place he & another young man from the Battery were buried. Such is war; such is life & death, as connected with it. After this second digression,

²⁰ Alcinda Gibson Hollingsworth was the wife of Isaac Hollingsworth, Jr., of Willow Lawn, Winchester. Cartmell, *op. cit.*, pp. 293, 294.

²¹ Wilfred E. Cutshaw, a graduate of V. M. I., was made a captain in March, 1862. He rose to the rank of lieutenant colonel and fought in many of the battles in the Valley district, receiving wounds at Spotsylvania, and Sailors Creek where he was captured. He died in 1907. *Biographic Catalogue of the Portraits in the Confederate Memorial Institute* (Richmond, Va., 1929) p. 13.

²² Berkeley Minor was a private in the Rockbridge Artillery and was wounded at Gettysburg. W. W. Blackford, *War Years With J. E. B. Stuart*, pp. 256, 257.

²³ Robert Breckinridge McKim (1843-1862), a private in the Rockbridge Artillery, entered Confederate service April 20, 1861, and was killed May 25, 1862, at the age of eighteen. In his own memoirs, Randolph McKim speaks of the death of his cousin: "That was a joyous breakfast table that Sunday morning at Mrs. Lee's. The battle was over. We were all 'heroes' and 'deliverers' in the eyes of the charming women of the family, and all was proceeding gayly till the entrance of my friend Berkeley Minor brought me the sad news of the death of Robert Breckinridge McKim, my young cousin, who had joined the Rockbridge Artillery near this very town less than eleven months before. He fell gallantly serving his piece in the battle. It was a painful shock to me, for I was warmly attached to the noble boy. Procuring a horse, I rode out to the field and found him laid out in a barn, with a label attached, on which was his name. The minie-ball had pierced his head just above the forehead, leaving the face undisfigured. His features wore a peaceful expression, and I believe his soul was at peace with God in the better world. How joyous he used to be and how well he sang our college songs, 'Lauriger Horatius,' 'The Irishman's Shanty,' etc" (*A Soldier's Recollections*, pp. 102-103).

I will go back to that same breakfast, which you will think interminable; after our table full had finished, I went on the porch to look for more stragglers & I saw one officer riding by, munching a hard Yankee cracker. I stopped him & he very readily accepted my invitation; he proved to be a very pleasant gentleman, Major Snodgrass²⁴ on Ewell's staff, he returned in the evening to tea; as long as I had a mouthful of food, I continued to bring them in; they were entirely exhausted, from fatigue & hunger. A number of visitors came in, chiefly Marylanders; Mr. Ward, Dr. [Richard P.?] Johnson & many whose names I do not recollect; Col. Dorsey found his wound so much more serious than he thought at first, that he had to go to bed; it bled profusely, & cold water applications are still being used on it. I think the whole Maryland Regt. must have been to see him; he is the only one wounded & there were only two wounded at Front Royal. Col. Baylor got in before dinner & we were truly glad to see him. I forgot to mention Major Lyon,²⁵ on Genl. [Isaac R.] Trimble's staff, who staid with us two days; he is also a Baltimorean. All day Sunday we spent in the porch & in the parlour, & there were many joyous meetings. Col. Jackson, Col. Letcher²⁶ & Frank Clarke took tea, besides the four staying with us. When they finished some stragglers came & finished the supper. Sunday was a day to be taken out of time, as different from any other we ever spent. It was a day of intense excitement & enthusiasm. The army looked on themselves as Knights errant, coming to the rescue of *fair "ladies"*. Even Genl. Jackson cheered on the soldiers, in person, as they entered the town. I had no idea that they entertained such exalted ideas of our heroism, in bearding the lion when we were in his den; I think they exaggerated our courage. Even the strange troops from Louisiana, Georgia, Mississippi & Alabama, who had never been here before, shared in the enthusiasm. I did not know, till to-day, how much danger we had been in; some of the shells which were fired over the town fell short; one fell in Mr. Bell's yard. Genl. Jackson says, he would have annihilated the Yankees, by firing cannons through the streets, but he would not endanger the town. I would have been perfectly willing, at the time; though I am glad now the poor miserable wretches have more time for repentance. Was it not a merciful Providence that the battle was fought so near town, that our men followed in & put the fire out, before it reached the magazine; if they had been an hour later there would have been no hope for us. Monday morning the feeding process was continued, at breakfast; all went to Bob McKim's funeral, but myself. Col. Johnson (Bradley)²⁷ paid me a long visit; it is amusing

²⁴ Major Snodgrass, Quartermaster on General Ewell's Staff. *O.R.*, Series 1, XII, Part 1, 721.

²⁵ Major James W. Lyon married Fannie Moncure Nelson shortly after the war and moved to Baltimore County, Md., where he died in March, 1907, at the home of his daughter, Mrs. Arthur H. Hall, of Pikesville. Dielman File, Maryland Historical Society.

²⁶ Colonel Samuel H. Letcher commanded the Fifty-eighth Virginia. *O.R.*, Series 1, XII, Part 1, 817.

²⁷ Colonel Bradley T. Johnson commanded the First Maryland Infantry throughout this campaign. His report of the battle of Winchester is to be found in *ibid.*, 817-818.

to see with what interest our soldiers listen to our accounts of the Yankees. Col. Johnson was full of enthusiasm; the Marylanders look on this as the onward move, across the Potomac, & I have no doubt it will be, as soon as [Joseph E.] Johns[t]on whips [George B.] McClellan; we hear that battle is going on to-day, God grant it may be as total a rout as that here. Col. Johnson left me a large sum of money to buy a souvenir with for Mrs. Johnson, who is in N. Carolina. He was to have dined with us if he had not received marching orders. I went to Marshal's funeral in the afternoon, it is strange how little I knew him; in reality, we were entire strangers & the sympathy I feel for his parents is checked by their wonderful composure; they have the martyr spirit & rejoice in the manner of his death. Our Court House yard presented a singular appearance; it was filled, literally filled, with Yankee prisoners, & strange to say they were brighter & more cheerful than I have seen them, since they have been here. They were laughing & jesting with the guard, & citizens around, & they cheered [Arnold] Elzey's Brigade, which was passing by at the time. You can imagine we enjoy seeing the captivity of those who have held us in bondage; but we are too generous to let them see it. Last night several gentlemen came in; by accident our *little friend* Col. Neff²⁸ & his staff were here. John Lee was to have spent the evening with us, but he could not get off; he was here this morning & I wanted him to dine, but he could not come. I have not attempted to give you a full account of the battle, because I have not the statistics correctly yet; I will get them all for you. Robert & Nepe Baldwin were here last night.

Tuesday night—I must try to write up my journal, so as to have it ready to send by the first opportunity; it is a glad thought that such an occasion may present itself very shortly. Col. Skinner²⁹ dined with us to-day, & our sweet young friend, Randy McKim returned to camp most reluctantly. Frank Clark, Willie Randolph,³⁰ (now Capt.), Sandy Pendleton³¹ & Dick Meade³² came in to-night. The 1st. Brigade went to Charlestown this evening, to seize the stores there; they are very valuable. When the Yankees got to Martinsburgh, on Sunday, they were dropping down on the street, from sheer fatigue, they were in such a panic that the infantry outran the cavalry. They have all crossed the Potomac, & the Valley of Virginia is free; Jackson has done, what no other General has done yet. He has been the first to drive the Yankees entirely out of a region of country they had occupied. Numbers of the servants have been

²⁸ Colonel John F. Neff, commanding the Thirty-third Regiment Virginia Volunteers. His report can be found in *ibid.*, 753.

²⁹ Lieutenant Colonel Skinner commanded the Fifty-second Regiment Virginia Volunteers: *ibid.*, 788, 790.

³⁰ Captain Randolph commanded Company D, Fifth Virginia Regiment: *ibid.*, 748.

³¹ First Lieutenant Alexander S. Pendleton, son of General William N. Pendleton, served on Stonewall Jackson's staff and was frequently cited for outstanding acts. See *S. H. S. P.*, XXIII, 131.

³² Second Lieutenant R. K. Meade, acting chief of ordnance, Stonewall Jackson's staff, was cited for his services during the battle of Winchester in his famous commander's report. *O. R.*, Series 1, XII, Part 1, 709.

recaptured. I am so glad Major Whittlesey ³³ is taken prisoner, my little friend Major Lyon captured him; he is sick & allowed to remain at Col. Fauntleroy's ³⁴ on parole. Willie Randolph was officer of the day to-day, & he was very funny about the prisoners; I am sorry to say, they have had but one meal to-day, but it is no more than our own men have endured for weeks past; since the 6th May they have been marching & counter-marching, till Banks was perfectly bewildered. I could not find out till to-night where Johnnie was; I hear he is in N. Carolina; I wish so much we could hear of Jamie & Lewis. I hope to-morrow we may hear glad tidings from Johns[t]on; from the news of to-day, we suppose the fighting must have been going on. Turner Ashby ³⁵ was in town to-day; it is said it was amusing to see the prisoners gazing at him; he has been a terror to them. Col. Baylor is going to Charlestown to-morrow & we shall be left without any one but Col. Dorsey, who is confined to his room. Good-night, dear Jeannie.

Wednesday night [May 28]—This has been a more quiet day than the last three; all the army have gone down towards Charlestown except the 21st. Regt: as there are nearly 3000 prisoners here, I have quite serious apprehensions that there may be some disturbance. Maj. Lyon came round this morning to breakfast but he was so early that he went away, got his breakfast & came back by the time we were down; Johnnie Lee was to have come with him, but could not get off. They are both on Trimble's staff. Col. Baylor & Nepe went down to Charlestown together in an ambulance. Turner Ashby sent me Kate's letter & Mrs. Keeling's; the first I have received from Richmond since the 12th. March; they were written in April, still it was an inexpressible comfort to hear of you all again & to know you were comfortably fixed in my dear old home. As I shall probably write before I send you this journal I will not attempt to answer letters here. I was so disappointed not to hear of Lewis; what can it mean; is there any bad news you are holding back? Dr. Capers of Georgia has regularly installed me as Col. Dorsey's nurse & I attend to dressing his wound. I was amused to see how embarrassed he was, at the first display, as he has to be considerably disrobed, but I have seen so much in the last year that in ordinary hours would be startling, that I am nerved for everything. There are many rumours this evening—some true & some false; the Yankees were in Charlestown last night, & burned the Depot; Genl. Winder ³⁶ is there to-day. One rumour is that there are four thousand Yankees at Berryville, but one of the Genl's staff was

³³ Major Joseph H. Whittlesey, U. S. A., married the daughter of his host in Winchester, Catherine Knox Fauntleroy. Cartmell, *op. cit.*, p. 450.

³⁴ Colonel Charles M. Fauntleroy, son of Brigadier General Thomas T. Fauntleroy of Winchester, *ibid.*, p. 451.

³⁵ General Turner Ashby, cavalry leader and scourge of the Federal Army, was killed at Harrisonburg, Va., on the 6th of June 1862. O. R., Series 1, XII, Part 1, 782.

³⁶ Brigadier General Charles S. Winder of Talbot County, Maryland, was mortally wounded while leading the Stonewall Brigade at the battle of Cedar Mountain on August 9, 1862. O. R., Series 1, XII, Part 2, 178.

here to-night & said he had heard nothing of it. It is delightful to hear the different accounts of our soldiers, officers & men, about their feelings in fighting for & entering Winchester. There has been more chivalry & sentiment about it than I have heard of during the war. Genl. Elzey says the tears were brought to his eyes at hearing an old woman exclaim, as he entered Winchester, "God bless Genl. Jackson & the Southern army." We hear the General compliments the women of Winchester & Turner Ashby says, the Genl. says, we are the backbone of the Southern Confederacy. No reliable news from Richmond yet—though there are rumours that McClellan is wounded & his army driven back.

Friday night [May 30]—I was so tired last night I could not write. I had taken advantage of the army being away to have the parlour carpet taken up & the rooms put in summer array. There was nothing very exciting & no visitors, except acquaintances stopping to pay visits on the porch; the 21st Va. was the only Regt. here, & we have no acquaintances in it. There were various rumours about fighting at Harper's Ferry, the 1st. Maryland having crossed the Potomac &c. &c., but we are so accustomed to sensation reports that they never alarm us. However, there has been skirmishing at Harper's Ferry & Charlestown. To-day I went to the stores to try to finish Mrs. Johnson's shopping; the merchants keep their doors closed as there is such a rush for goods it is impossible to attend to all their customers; they come here from all the surrounding counties & even from Richmond to buy goods. Rumours of an alarming character are rife to-day. The Yankees have Front Royal, so large a force came that the 12th Georgia left on guard had to withdraw after having burned all the stores they could not remove. Another rumour of a large force at Millwood & Moorefield & even at Strasburgh then again it is said Gustavus Smith, [L. O'Brien] Branch, [Harry T.] Hayes & some other Genl. are coming with re-enforcements. I do not pretend to know what is true except that I believe Jackson will do what is right; he & his staff arrived to-night; one brigade has come & it is thought the whole army will be here to-night or to-morrow, & then I fear Sunday will bring another battle. Col. Dorsey spent this evening with us in the parlours; he is doing well, though a minnie ball going through the shoulder is no slight injury. I received a letter from dear Kate yesterday written in March; also one from Lewis of that date. Good-night, dearest Jeannie; I have heard to-day you are at Greenville, N. C. Can it be true; why did you run. It is so much better to be at home.

Saturday night [May 31]—Oh! Jeannie, such another day as we have had; it has appeared like a thousand years; we heard, first thing this morning, that Jackson's army was at Stephenson's Depot, & it proved to be partly true; all but Winder's Brigade & the Maryland Regiment, were there. We knew, of course, there would be another stirring day, & hurried through with the housekeeping, & made arrangements for feeding all who might come. About 8 o'clock the army commenced passing through; [William B.] Taliaferro's brigade passed our door; Genl.

[Richard] Taylor's (4 Louisiana Regt. & [Roberdeau] Wheat's Battalion) came up, Picadilly, they halted for some time & we went in Dr. Baldwin's yard to see them; several came up to talk to us. Amongst them was one who was particularly pleasant; Col. de Choiseul;⁸⁷ he gave me a Richmond paper & wrote his name on it. I told him I certainly expected them back on Monday, & invited him to spend the evening with us. I could not take in the idea that our soldiers were again leaving us to the Yankees, but they evidently think so, & are so grave about it; this proclamation of [Benjamin F. ("Beast")] Butler's at New Orleans has shocked them, & they leave us with a fear they had not felt before. The reason of this move is, that Shields is at Front Royal, with 7000 men, & [John C.] Fremont & [Dixon S.] Miles are near enough to unite with them, & Jackson has gone back to drive them off; he takes his whole army, & consequently our border is left unprotected. The Yankees are at Harper's Ferry & Martinsburgh, some say with five, some with eighteen thousand men, & there will be nothing between them & us but their own fear, which will, I believe, keep them away till Jackson returns. But [it] is a sad sight, to witness these evacuations of Winchester—as we have done. I must go back to the morning; while the brigades were passing through, we were getting up lunches for the men to take with them. I was on the pavement with our flag in my hand, & I saw, as I thought, another regiment coming, from the depot; I walked down towards them, nearing it, I joined Nettie & Burr Noland who were below our porch; just then some one said, it was the prisoners, & I did not choose to lower my flag, or let them think I was afraid of their seeing it. I heard them commenting on it; saying they would like to burn it, it was a dish-rag &c. &c. They were very much excited. It was a grand sight to see them; there were 1160 in that gang & there were between 8 & 900 at the Court House. I was standing by Col. Dorsey when the 1st. (Yankee) Maryland passed by & it was a strange sight. After they left Major Snodgrass & Sandy Pendleton took lunch. Then we packed Mrs. Bradley Johnson's box & arranged for Col. Dorsey's departure, as it was not thought safe for him to remain; most of our sick have been removed. I dressed his arm for the last time, gave him his dinner, & saw him off; he went in an ambulance with Col. Kirkland of the 21st. N. Carolina, who is wounded. Then we put the rooms to rights & got things somewhat in order, after a morning of confusion; all the afternoon soldiers were passing, all giving different accounts; one was, that Jackson & Shields were fighting at Middletown; that was false. Towards dark we heard the 1st. Brigade & the Marylanders were near town, & I knew some would slip off to get their supper. Jim Garnett had told us he would bring Genl. Winder, but I did not think he could get off, as I knew they were pressing on in a hurry. The first guest who came was Dr. Johnson, then Mr. Ward of Maryland; Col. Baylor sent for his supper, he could not get off. Then came two of his Regiment & while they were at the table Garnett came to say, Genl.

⁸⁷ Lieutenant Colonel C. DeChoiseul of the Seventh Louisiana Regiment died of wounds following the battle of Port Republic, June 9, 1862. *O. R.*, Series 1, XII, Part 1, 787.

Winder & some of his staff were coming to tea, so we hurried to get the table re-set. Genl. W. had Capt. O'Brien (his Adjutant) & Mr. Howard ³⁸ with him; our pet, Ranny McKim came also; after tea they staid some time to hear the girls sing; Major Mercer came in & when he was going he advised us to treat the Yankees with courtesy; some of the neighborhood boys came to say good-bye- & so ends our week of triumph & security. What to-morrow may bring, we cannot tell & I will try not to think of it. I sent a note to you enclosed to Mr. Keeling & a letter to the Enquirer, & a dispatch from Col. Johnson to the Richmond Dispatch, by Frank Clarke this morning. I hope they will go safely. If the Yankees should come here, we will have a far worse time than before.

³⁸ Lieutenant James M. Garnett was an aide-de-camp on General Winder's staff. Other members of Winder's staff who came to tea were Captain John F. O'Brien, assistant adjutant-general, and Lieutenant McHenry Howard of Baltimore: *ibid.*, 737. For Garnett's account of the Battle of Winchester fought on Monday, September 19, 1864, see *S. H. S. P.*, Volume XXXI, 61-68.

SIDELIGHTS

ORIGINAL LAND GRANTS OF THE SOUTH SIDE OF SEVERN RIVER

An introduction to a map recently compiled to show these land locations.

By CALEB DORSEY

The area on the south side of Severn River is of considerable interest to historians and genealogists because it was to this region that an important mass migration of new settlers took place in the fall and winter of 1649-50.

They came largely from what was then Lower Norfolk County, Virginia and apparently many were Puritans and other non-conformists. Governor William Berkeley of Virginia had recently legislated against these colonists for refusing to attend the established Church of England, even threatening them with legal action and confiscation of their property.

At this time Cecil, Lord Baltimore, being especially desirous of colonizing this unsettled section of Maryland, authorized his Governor, William Stone, to confer with this dissatisfied group in an effort to induce immigration.

They were especially invited to settle in this area and take up tracts of land under the modified Oath of Fidelity to the Lord Baltimore as expressed in the new "Condition of Plantation" of 1648. This assured them privileges not heretofore enjoyed and complete liberty in their religious convictions, both of which were most certainly advantageous.

Even in those days, the trip from the Norfolk area up the Chesapeake Bay to the Annapolis peninsula, a distance of about one hundred and forty miles, was not too difficult. During the fall and winter of 1649-50, a sizable group of these non-conformists and others landed in this location and began to take up grants. Among them we find many families who first established themselves here and later sent their descendants into an ever widening territory, for example: Todd, Norwood, Wyatt, Howard, Dorsey, Hall, Marsh, Gaither, Browne, Lloyd, Rockhould, Warner, Selby, Beard and others.

Their first surveys were apparently made shortly after the original settlement but were evidently not legally patented as required by current regulations and cannot be accurately located. However, a few years later, surveys were properly made, certificates officially passed upon and patents issued, records of which still exist in the Land Office at Annapolis.



ORIGINAL LAND GRANTS
OF THE
SOUTH SIDE OF
SEVERN RIVER
MARYLAND

MAGOT

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ANN ARUNDEL
COUNTY

SEVERN RIVER



the contiguous vacancies and patented the whole under the name of "Providence," six thousand acres, on September 10, 1725.¹ He did not live long to enjoy these holdings, dying in 1727, and his administrators in 1736-7 subdivided this estate and sold it off in blocks of five or six tracts each. The deeds to these properties aid greatly in locating the original land grants contained therein.

Other notable examples of similar patented land groupings which have proven helpful in locating the original grants are:

"Norwood's Beale," containing five tracts patented by John Beale, May 2, 1719.²

"Sand Gate," three tracts, patented by Thomas Bordley, June 17, 1718.³

"Gaither's Collection," five tracts, patented by Edward Gaither, June 10, 1734.⁴

"Resurvey of Tracts," three tracts, patented by Thomas Worthington, October 20, 1735.⁵

"Sherwood Forest," five tracts, patented by Thomas Hyde, January 22, 1795,⁶ (a part of the estate of Caleb Dorsey of Thomas).

"Gambrill's Purchase," three tracts, patented by Augustine Gambrill, March 3, 1814,⁷ (the remainder of the estate of the above Caleb Dorsey).

"Hammand's Plains," patented by Col. Rezin Hammond, August 4, 1797,⁸ shows the location of eleven properties.

"Hammond's Purchase Enlarged," resurveyed for Maj. Philip Hammond, February 3, 1803,⁹ contains five original patents.

"Hockley-in-the-Hole Enlarged," Richard Dorsey's resurvey and patent of November 3, 1797,¹⁰ included four such patents.

"Worthington's Resurvey," one of the later resurveys of large size, was patented by Brice John Worthington, April 15, 1828.¹¹ It extended from Round Bay on the Severn down to the head of South River and contained twenty-one hundred and ninety acres. It was upon one of the component parts of this tract, "Bear Ridge," that John Ross, the great-grandfather of Francis Scott Key, built his famous homestead "Belvoir," when he was Register of the Land Office. This striking example of colonial architecture is still standing today.

It is difficult for use of the present day to visualize what this region must have been like in the latter part of the sixteen hundreds. Sparsely settled as it was, the plantations were necessarily remote, particularly those distant from the water where the few roads were often impassable. Upon reading Henry Sewell's patent of "Hope," August 8, 1664,¹² where one

¹ P. L. No. 5, f. 839, Patent Liber, Annapolis.

² P. L. No. 4, f. 8, *ibid.*

³ R. Y. No. 1, f. 526, *ibid.*

⁴ E. I. No. 1, f. 518, *ibid.*

⁵ E. I. No. 2, f. 242, *ibid.*

⁶ I. C. No. H, f. 618, *ibid.*

⁷ I. B. No. C, f. 15, *ibid.*

⁸ I. C. No. M, f. 267, *ibid.*

⁹ Unpat. Cert. (A. A. Co.) No. 222, *ibid.*

¹⁰ I. C. No. N, f. 110, *ibid.*

¹¹ G. G. B. No. 1, f. 7, *ibid.*

¹² 7, f. 343, *ibid.*

A difficulty now frequently encountered by the historian and genealogist is in locating these old family tracts which are so often mentioned in the wills and records of that period. The need for a map showing these locations in their proper relationship to a current map has often occurred to the author and he has endeavored to accomplish this need.

A portion of a regular county topographic map enlarged to the scale of two inches per mile was used and a black line tracing upon clear film was prepared to be used over it. This was designed to show and identify these grants with their metes and bounds along with the shore line and water courses of the territory, which so often served as boundaries. A list giving the names of these patents with the dates, names of patentees and references in the patent books, has been prepared to be used in conjunction with the above.

The names and surveyors' descriptions of these tracts could be easily found in the patent books at the Land Office and it was routine procedure to draw them up individually. The matter of placing them was more involved as the locations officially given were rather indefinite, such as, "on the south side of Ann Arundell River, in the woods," or bounding on a certain creek, the identity of which, today, is usually unknown. These problems were finally clarified by referring to later resurveys of larger tracts which included several or more of the original grants.

Some of these later patents contain the original plats which were photostatted for reference, but some had to be drawn from the surveyor's description. As would be expected, certain mistakes and inaccuracies have been noted, but considering the crude instruments of that time and the rough terrain encountered, the original tracts were found to fit together surprisingly well.

The area selected for this research is triangular in shape, beginning at the Annapolis peninsula and extending due west for about eight miles slightly beyond the head of South River. From this point it runs north to the head of Severn River, about seven miles, and thence down the river side nearly ten miles to the present site of Annapolis. It takes in approximately twenty-five thousand acres and concerns eighty early settlers. One hundred and thirty-one original grants are outlined, the largest of which, "White's Hall" is eighteen hundred acres and the smallest, "Gearey's Expense," but thirteen acres. All of these but three are patented and the earliest patent, dated 1658, was taken up by Richard Acton. The numerous creeks of this region are identified by their original names, which are invariably different from those of the present time.

It is not surprising to learn from a study of these lands that even in those days, some of the local inhabitants were more acquisitive than others regarding real estate and amassed large holdings. The earliest example of this tendency to be exhibited by the Land Office is the case of Amos Garrett, (1671-1727), a successful merchant of Annapolis and its first Mayor.

He succeeded in accumulating a chain of thirty-nine original patents of land by purchase or foreclosure, extending from the head of the Severn down to within several miles of Annapolis. This he resurveyed, taking in

of the bounders is given as "a marked oak by an Indian path," and realizing that this is now Route No. 178 (General's Highway) we are impressed by the sweeping changes that have taken place. The two most important factors that have recently changed this area more than anything have been the extending mileage of better roads and the increasing popularity of water front property.

Before 1700 many of the original settlers or their descendants began to migrate north and north westerly to the more fertile lands of the Piedmont plateau, which was then the new frontier where opportunities awaited them, to take up larger estates. The old grants and resurveys of the south Severn area then began to experience a series of subdivisions and changes of ownership, which seem to have just reached their peak.

The whole peninsula or "neck" now occupied by Annapolis and the Naval Academy was originally "Todd," "Todd's Harbor" and "Todd's Pasture." Similarly but much more recently, other "necks" of land have been converted into water front settlements, some for summer occupancy and others for full time abode. "Wyatt's Harbor" is now Sherwood Forest, "Howard's Hill" has developed into Epping Forest, while many more dot the Severn shore from Indian Landing down to Annapolis, namely Whitney's Landing, Round Bay, Herald Harbor, Dream's Landing and various others.

Many of the above changes are definite improvements and have resulted in an enormous elevation of land values.

With such extensive development and constantly increasing popularity of this area and with such an ancient historical background involving so many Maryland antecedents, a map of the above seems appropriate. It is quite fascinating to be able to ascertain who was the first patentee of a certain area and to be able to trace down, through the numerous owners, to the present time.

ORIGINAL LAND GRANTS OF THE SOUTH SIDE OF SEVERN RIVER *

"Abington" 875 a. pat. John Gaither and Robert Proctor August 25, 1664, L.-7, f. 387.

Land of Richard Acton (unnamed) 100 a. pat. Richard Acton August 11, 1658, L.-Q, f. 117.

"The Addition" 50 a. pat. William Jones October 10, 1704, L.-D. S. No. F, f. 517.

"The Advance" 42 a. pat. Daniel Edge May 10, 1676, L.-19, f. 345.

"The Adventure" 50 a. pat. William Frizzell September 22, 1663, L.-5, f. 574.

"Anything" 23 a. pat. Francis Pierpoint August 6, 1719, L.-P. L. No. f. 390.

"Baldwin's Addicon" 120 a. pat. John Baldwin August 11, 1664, L.-7, f. 356.

"Baldwin's Chance" 415 a. pat. John Baldwin November 10, 1695, L.-B, No. 23, f. 337.

"Beare Ridge" 175 a. pat. Nicholas Wyatt August 11, 1664, L.-7, f. 355.

"Boyd's Chance" 60 a. pat. John Boyd May 10, 1685, L.-N. S. No. 2, f. 108.

"Brampton" 100 a. pat. Richard Beard February 15, 1659, L.-4, f. 442.

"Brandy" 300 a. pat. Richard Warfield August 10, 1683 L.-C. B. No. 3, f. 496.

"Brookesby's Point" 350 a. pat. John Brookesby July 11, 1681, L.-C. B. No. 2, f. 257.

"Broome" 220 a. pat. Richard Beard February 15, 1659, L.-4, f. 441.

* a. — acres pat. — patented by L. — Patent Liber f. — folio

- "Brownley" 150 a. pat. Thomas Brown February 15, 1659, L.-4, f. 452.
- "Brown's Encrease" 250 a. pat. William Hopkins August 8, 1670, L.-13, f. 31.
- "Brown's Folly" 270 a. pat. Thomas Brown July 1, 1680, L.-C. B. No. 2, f. 13.
- "Brown's Peace" 52 a. pat. Thomas Brown February 27, 1677, L.-20, f. 75.
- "Brushy Neck" 150 a. pat. John Baldwin August 24, 1665, L.-8, f. 148.
- "Bruton's Hope" 40 a. pat. John Bruton April 10, 1671, L.-14, f. 207.
- "Burntwood" 100 a. pat. Robert Gudgeon May 1, 1676, L.-19, f. 350.
- "Burntwood Common" 50 a. pat. Robert and Lawrence Gugeon June 1, 1685, L.-I. B. & I. L. No. C, f. 224.
- "The Chance" 200 a. pat. Cornelius Howard August 25, 1664, L.-7, f. 380.
- "Charles' Hills" 271 a. pat. Charles Stevens July 28, 1679, L.-20, f. 255.
- "Chilton" 40 a. pat. Abraham Child September 10, 1683, L.-S. D. No. A, f. 94.
- "Clarke's Enlargement" 265 a. pat. Neale Clarke September 1, 1687, L.-N. S. No. 2 f. 438.
- "Clarke's Luck" 60 a. pat. Neale Clarke June 1, 1685, L.-N. S. No. B, f. 415.
- "Clinke" 100 a. pat. William Galloway January 18, 1659, L.-4, f. 430.
- "Crouchfield" 150 a. pat. William Crouch September 7, 1659, L.-4, f. 87.
- "Dorsey" 60 a. pat. Edward Dorsey September 9, 1668, L.-12, f. 136.
- "Dorsey's Addition" 50 a. pat. Joshua Dorsey May 10, 1680, L.-N. S. No. B, f. 433.
- "Edge's Addition" 50 a. pat. Daniel Edge September 10, 1684, L.-S. D. No. A, f. 455.
- "The Encrease" 100 a. pat. Cornelius Howard August 8, 1670, L.-14, f. 46.
- "The Encrease" 50 a. pat. John Minter May 15, 1668, L.-11, f. 407.
- "Freeborne's Enlargement" 80 a. pat. Thomas Freeborne November 10, 1695, L.-B. No. 23, f. 329.
- "Free Manston" 150 a. pat. John Freeman February 15, 1659, L.-4, f. 428.
- "Freeman's Fancy" 300 a. pat. John Freeman May 27, 1663, L.-5, f. 288.
- "Friend's Choice" 100 a. pat. William Grimes and Nicholas Sheppard September 10, 1672, L.-17, f. 298.
- "Gardner's Warfield" 60 a. surveyed August 10, 1669 for Edward Gardner and Richard Warfield (not patented) L.-12, f. 328.
- "Gatenby" 100 a. pat. Thomas Gates February 7, 1658, L.-Q, f. 392.
- "Gater's Range" 200 a. pat. John Gater September 10, 1672, L.-17, f. 293.
- "Gearey's Expense" 13 a. pat. Lawrence Gearey June 10, 1734, L.-E. I. No. 4, f. 230.
- "The Good Mother's Endeavor" 285 a. pat. Eleanor Howard, (widow of John) June 1, 1698, a resurvey of "Howard's Thickett," a part of "The Wood-yard" and adjoining vacant land, L.-B. B. No. 3, f. 539.
- "Greenspring" 200 a. pat. Robert Proctor February 20, 1673, L.-B. No. 15, f. 147.
- "Grimes' Addition" 100 a. pat. William Grimes September 10, 1672, L.-17, f. 291.
- "Grimes' Enlargement" 187 a. pat. William Grimes November 10, 1695, L.-C. No. 3, f. 265.
- "Grimeston" 100 a. pat. William Grimes August 25, 1665, L.-8, f. 153.
- "Guy's Rest" 100 a. pat. Guy Meeke August 8, 1670, L.-13, f. 32.
- "Guy's Will" 100 a. pat. Guy Meeke May 1, 1672, L.-14, f. 464.
- Thomas Hall's land 20 a., not patented but referred to in patent of "Todd's Harbor," L.-14, f. 191.
- "Hamilton" 350 a. pat. Edward Skidmore August 4, 1664, L.-7, f. 238.
- "Hammond's Hills" 88 a. pat. Thomas Hammond September 10, 1716, L.-F. F. No. 7, f. 46.
- "Harehill" 100 a. pat. Peter Porter July 16, 1674, L.-18, f. 254.
- "Henry's Increase" 43 a. pat. Henry Sewell July 1, 1680, L.-C. B. No. 2, f. 41.
- "Hereford" 260 a. pat. Robert Wilson May 1, 1672, L.-16, f. 579.
- "Hickory Hills" 45 a. pat. Philip Hammond October 18, 1735, L.-E. I. No. 4, f. 360.
- "Hockley-in-the-Hole" 400 a. pat. Edward, Joshua and John Dorsey August 25, 1664, L.-7, f. 378.

- "Hogg Neck" 250 a. pat. Edward Hope June 24, 1663, originally surveyed for Tobias Butler under the name of "The Combe," L.-5, f. 353.
- "Hope" 100 a. pat. Henry Sewell August 8, 1664, L.-7, f. 343.
- "Howard's Addition" 70 a. pat. Philip Howard June 1, 1685, L.-N. S. No. 2, f. 113.
- "Howard's and Porter's Fancy" 333 a. pat. Cornelius Howard June 20, 1668, L.-12, f. 30.
- "Howard's and Porter's Range" 500 a. pat. Cornelius Howard and Peter Porter October 2, 1666, L.-10, f. 184.
- "Howard's Discovery" 50 a. pat. John Howard May 1, 1697, L.-C. D. f. 18.
- "Howard's First Choice" 160 a. pat. Matthew Howard May 17, 1668, L.-11, f. 409.
- "Howard's Heirship" 420 a. pat. Cornelius Howard August 4, 1664, L.-7, f. 249.
- "Howard's Hill" 200 a. pat. Cornelius Howard September 10, 1672, L.-17, f. 297.
- "Howard's Hills" 150 a. pat. Philip Howard December 10, 1679, L.-21, f. 71.
- "Howard's Hope" 100 a. pat. Samuel Howard August 4, 1664, L.-7, f. 251.
- "Howard's Interest" 150 a. pat. John Howard August 4, 1664, L.-7, f. 252.
- "Howard's Mount" 80 a. pat. John Howard April 12, 1678, L.-20, f. 69.
- "Howard's Seach" 121 a. pat. John Howard December 10, 1696, L.-C. C., No. 4, f. 13.
- "Howard's Thickett" 50 a. pat. John Howard October 2, 1666, L.-10, f. 186.
- "Innishkeene" 132 a. pat. Timothy Sulivans September 2, 1714, L.-R. Y. No. 1, f. 472.
- "The Intacke" 100 a. pat. John Norwood January 18, 1659, L.-4, f. 425.
- "Jane's Inheritance" 50 a. pat. Jane Sisson (due her late father John Sisson) June 20, 1668, L.-12, f. 28.
- "Lancaster Plain" 180 a. pat. John Hudson May 1, 1676, L.-19, f. 357.
- "The Landing" 70 a. pat. Robert Proctor September 8, 1668, L.-12, f. 135.
- "The Landing Place" 50 a. pat. Neale Clarke September 25, 1663, L.-5, f. 598.
- "The Last Discovery" 48 a. pat. Thomas Beale Dorsey November 29, 1769, L.-B. C. & G. S. No. 38, f. 325.
- "Long Venture" 250 a. pat. John Stinson July 20, 1673, L.-17, f. 170.
- "The Maiden" 40 a. pat. Mary Howard October 5, 1683, L.-S. D. No. A, f. 416.
- "The March" 110 a. pat. Edward Gardner June 1, 1687, L.-N. S. No. 2, f. 280.
- "Medcalf's Mount" 70 a. pat. John Medcalf May 10, 1685, L.-N. S. No. B, f. 174.
- "Metcalfe's Chance" a. pat. John Metcalfe August 10, 1683, L.-S. D. No. A, f. 104.
- "Mill Land" 100 a. pat. Robert Proctor May 10, 1685, L.-N. S. No. 2, f. 111.
- "Mountain Neck" 190 a. pat. Thomas Hammond August 24, 1665, L.-8, f. 116.
- "Narrow Neck" 41 a. pat. William Yieldhall October 5, 1683, L.-S. D. No. A, f. 420.
- "Nealson" 100 a. pat. Neale Clarke February 15, 1659, L.-4, f. 433.
- "Norwood" 230 a. pat. John Norwood February 8, 1658, L.-Q, f. 396.
- "Norwoods Angles" 103 a. pat. Andrew Norwood August 10, 1684, L.-S. D. No. A, f. 446.
- "Norwood's Fancy" 420 a. pat. John Norwood February 15, 1659, L.-4, f. 426.
- "Norwood's Recovery" 104 a. pat. Andrew Norwood June 10, 1686, L.-I. B. & I. L. No. C, f. 229.
- "Orphan's Addition" 85 a. pat. Robert and Lawrence Gudgeon May 10, 1685, L.-N. S. No. B, f. 150.
- "Petticoat's Rest" 100 a. pat. William Petticoat September 9, 1679, L.-21, f. 99.
- "Pierpoint's Lott" 150 a. pat. Henry Pierpoint September 15, 1666, L.-10, f. 106.
- "Porter's Hills" 200 a. pat. Peter Porter September 19, 1659, L.-4, f. 129.
- "Proctor's Chance" 30 a. pat. Robert Proctor June 28, 1680, L.-C. B. No. 2, f. 13.
- "Providence" 200 a. pat. Amos Garrett August 20, 1710, L.-D. D. No. 5, f. 633.
Lies within the bounds of "Charles' Hills." Formerly surveyed for Elizabeth Sisson under the name of "The Orphan's Inheritance," but not patented.
- "Richardson Joy" 200 a. pat. Lawrence Richardson June 23, 1663, L.-5, f. 344.
- "Ridgely's Beginning" 40 a. pat. William Ridgely May 18, 1679, L.-20, f. 205.
- "Rosse" 136 a. pat. Guy Meeke May 18, 1679, L.-20, f. 203.
- "Round About Hill" 120 a. pat. John Gaither September 1, 1687, L.-N. S. No. 2, f. 396.

- "Salmon's Hills" 100 a. pat. Ralph Salmon September 22, 1665, L.-8, f. 414.
- "Search Upon Search" 35 a. pat. John Barry September 10, 1723, L.-P. L. No. 5, f. 496.
- "Shepherd's Range" 100 a. pat. Nicholas Shepherd October 1, 1674, L.-18, f. 260.
- "Shepley's Choice" 200 a. pat. Adam Shepley January 26, 1681, L.-C. B. No. 2, f. 463.
- "Stoney Hills" 36 a. pat. Richard Everatt January 10, 1695, L.-C. No. 3, f. 329.
- "The Struggle" 32 a. pat. John Worthington September 21, 1768, L.-B. C. & G. S. No. 35, f. 45.
- "Timber Neck" 40 a. pat. John Maccubbin September 15, 1665, L.-8, f. 294.
- "Todd" 100 a. Surveyed for Thomas Todd July 8, 1651, L.-A. B. & H., f. 258, (Not patented.)
- "Todd's Harbor" 120 a. pat. Thomas Todd April 10, 1671, L.-14, f. 191.
- "Todd's Pasture" 29 a. pat. Thomas Tod June 29, 1675, L.-19, f. 122.
- "Todd's Range" 120 a. pat. Thomas Todd May 4, 1664, L.-7, f. 244.
- "Turkey Quarter" 150 a. pat. Neale Clarke September 25, 1663, L.-5, f. 598.
- "Upper Toynton" (Tauton) 280 a. pat. Lawrence Richardson August 15, 1666, L.-10, f. 20.
- "Vennall's Inheritance" 100 a. pat. John Vennall October 10, 1671, L.-14, f. 363.
- "Walnut Neck" 122 a. pat. Thomas Reynolds December 10, 1714, L.-R. Y. No. 1, f. 232.
- "Wardridge" 600 a. pat. James Wardner and Henry Ridgely June 26, 1663, L.-5, f. 355.
- "Wardrop" 200 a. pat. James Wardner June 26, 1663, L.-5, f. 354.
- "Warfield's Addition" 188 a. pat. Richard Warfield July 20, 1729, L.-P. L. No. 7, f. 236. Consisting of "The Encrease," "Gardner's Warfield" and adjoining vacant land.
- "Warfield's Plains" 300 a. pat. Richard Warfield January 26, 1681, L.-C. B. No. 2, f. 412.
- "Warfield's Right" 50 a. pat. Richard Warfield July 1, 1675, L.-19, f. 45.
- "Warner's Neck" 320 a. pat. James Warner January 5, 1658, L.-Q, f. 237.
- "Wayfield" 100 a. pat. Nicholas Wyatt August 11, 1664, L.-7, f. 353.
- "Weston" 130 a. pat. Guy Meeke August 10, 1683, L.-S. D. No. A, f. 101.
- "White's Hall" 1800 a. pat. Jerome White May 29, 1665, L.-7, f. 587.
- "The Woodyard" 150 a. pat. John Hayward (Howard) June 10, 1674, L.-14, f. 241.
- "Wyatt's Harbor" 100 a. pat. Nicholas Wyatt May 2, 1668, L.-11, f. 361.
- "Wyatt's Hills" 60 a. pat. Nicholas Wyatt August 8, 1664, L.-7, f. 345.
- "Wyatt's Ridge" 450 a. pat. Nicholas Wyatt August 4, 1664, L.-7, f. 237.
- "Young's Chance" 30 a. pat. Samuel Young July 21, 1720, L.-P. L. No. 4, f. 401.
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ORIGIN AND FIRST USE OF THE PRESENT
MARYLAND FLAG

HAROLD R. MANAKEE

In *The Maryland State Flag*¹ the late Francis B. Culver presented substantial evidence to support a belief that the present design of the official state flag was of relatively recent origin. He cited the *Maryland Archives* and other sources² to show that the colonial emblem consisted solely of the gold and black Calvert colors. He noted that the present design appeared a few years after the late Clayton C. Hall restored the colonial arms of Maryland to the state seal in 1876. He hinted that Hall might have had some responsibility for the flag design by noting the existence in 1934 of a copy of that scholar's *The Great Seal of Maryland*,³ inscribed "with the compliments of C. C. H." to a member of the Sisco family, proprietors of a Baltimore flagmaking company. Then he examined newspaper items, illustrations, and official programs of events of the period, and concluded that the flag in its present design was first used in the late 1880s, probably during September 1889 in a celebration commemorating the 75th anniversary of the Battle of North Point.

Recently, however, the present writer found that the flag was first flown October 25, 1888, on the Gettysburg Battlefield in ceremonies incident to the dedication of five monuments to Maryland Federal units which had participated in the battle on that site during the Civil War. In the *Report of the State of Maryland Gettysburg Monument Commission*⁴ the following statement appears (p. 79): "The Maryland State Flag carried in the column, in advance of and accompanying the Governor's carriage, was presented to the State by Governor [Elihu E.] Jackson, and was used for the first time. The flag is about ten by six feet and consisting [*sic*] entirely of the State Coat-of-Arms, in orange and black. It presented a handsome appearance."

The *American* of October 26 described the event in almost identical words, and *The Sun* stated that: "Riding well to the front was Quarter-master-Sergeant [J. Summerfield] Bull holding aloft the new Maryland Flag with the colors of the Calvert family emblazoned on it." While none of the written descriptions specifically mentions the Crossland silver and red tinctures, a photograph of Governor Jackson and his staff, reproduced opposite page 38 of the commission report, clearly shows the flag in its present design.

¹ Francis Barnum Culver, *The Maryland State Flag and Colonial County Colors* (Baltimore, 1934).

² *Maryland Archives*, xlii, 371; xxxi, 46; *Calvert Papers*, No. 1, 185; *Md. Hist. Mag.*, iv, 148; ix, 224.

³ Clayton C. Hall, *The Great Seal of Maryland*; A Paper Read Before the Maryland Historical Society. Md. Hist. Soc. Fund Publication No. 23 (Baltimore, 1886).

⁴ *Report of the State of Maryland Gettysburg Monument Commission* (Baltimore, 1891).

Further evidence has been found, also, to support Culver's surmise that Hall had a hand in designing the flag. In addition to being an eminent Maryland historian and an authority on the Great Seal of the State, Hall was a major in the Maryland National Guard and quartermaster on the staff of General Stewart Brown, Commander, First Brigade. In describing an annual inspection of the Fifth Maryland Regiment, the *American* of February 6, 1889, said that "an orderly carried the beautiful pennant which was presented to General Brown on Saturday night. The flag was made by Sisco after a design by Major Hall and contains the arms of Lord Baltimore." Since *The Sun* of the same date also confused the words "pennant" and "flag," probably the type of emblem on display that night will remain unknown. Nevertheless, the fact that Hall was utilizing the Calvert arms in designing some sort emblem carried at the time by a state military unit is significant. The probability grows that he was instrumental in designing the present state flag.

Following that date increasingly frequent newspaper references indicate that the new emblem won quick acceptance among Maryland National Guard units. Then, on October 18, 1889, the Veteran Corps of the Fifth Maryland Regiment presented a flag of the new design to the regiment, which accepted it as its regimental flag, 14 years before Chapter 48 Acts 1904 made it the official flag of the state.

AN EYEWITNESS TO THE BALTIMORE RIOT, 19TH APRIL, 1861.

The following letter was recently presented to the Society by Mr. A. Herman Stump, Jr., of Reisterstown, Md., a descendant of Mrs. Mary Alicia Stump, wife of John Stump, Henry Stump's brother. Henry Stump is listed in Wood's *Baltimore City Directories*, 1853-1860, as being Judge of the Baltimore Criminal Court, with offices at 57 West Fayette Street and dwelling at Barnum's Hotel. According to the Dielman file at the Maryland Historical Society, Judge Stump died October 29, 1865, at the Cecil County home of his brother. The letter is printed exactly as it was written, without alteration or corrections.

Mrs Mary A Stump
Perryville Cecil County
Maryland

Bal^{to} April 20 1861 Saturday

M^{rs} M A Stump

D^r Mdam

I received your acceptable letter last evening. Being uncertain whether the mail will be sent on the road to day, I have conduced to answer briefly, to assure you that I am satisfied with the management you made to send Pauline to St. Innigoes Academy, but I was disappointed & vexed at the

time. I had made up my mind to go with her for fear of accidents. I sincerely believe you would do as much for her as for one of your own children, and have often told her you cared more for her than for any of your own family.

I hope to pay you a visit next week, but I cannot remain in the Country for fear of losing my residence in the City, where I still have some prospects before me.

The whole city is in a state of disorder and excitement. I was on Pratt St yesterday when the conflict betwixt the rioters and the Northern Soldiers took place. The soldiers bore the pelting of the pitiless mob for a long time under a full trot, & more than three of them were knocked & shot down, before they returned the assaults; Then they fired about twenty five shots which killed several of their assailants and dispersed them. I saw three of the soldiers dead & dying being about half a square from the scene of uproar.

We are in an awful state now. The Governor & mayor have called nout [*sic.*] our volunteers to assist the Police in keeping order. Where this confusion will end no one can predict; But while there is life there is hope.

I must finish in time for the mail to day, I have ordered $\frac{1}{2}$ doz fruit trees to be sent by the Phila R R directed to John Stump Perryville & Three of them are the bearing mulberry & 3 early apple trees. If he will not plant them get Johnny to do it. Plant them about the school house & colts stable where they will not obstruct the view from the house.

In haste yours Truly

Hy Stump

REVIEWS OF RECENT BOOKS

William Buckland, 1734-1774, Architect of Virginia and Maryland. By ROSAMOND RANDALL BEIRNE and JOHN H. SCARFF. (Studies in Maryland History, No. 4), Baltimore, Maryland Historical Society, 1958. xiii, 175 pp. \$7.50.

The designers and builders of the houses erected by the prosperous planters of Virginia and Maryland in the colonial period are among the most obscure and unknown of American artists and craftsmen. That is why this volume devoted to a master builder, William Buckland, is particularly welcome, for it throws light not only upon the career of Buckland but also upon the way houses were built and decorated in his lifetime.

The term architect as applied to an eighteenth-century craftsman like Buckland is not equivalent to the term in modern usage any more than barber-surgeon is equivalent to the aristocrats of the medical profession at the present time. To call Buckland an architect is to describe a part of his activities but it is not to elevate him beyond the use of his own hands, as a workman upon the buildings in which he had a part.

Actually, Buckland, son of a yeoman from Oxfordshire, was a joiner by trade. He was apprenticed in 1748 to that craft at Oxford. In the year that his seven years' apprenticeship expired, a younger brother of George Mason of Virginia, Thomson Mason, then studying law at the Middle Temple in London, received instructions from home to find a good workman who would come to Virginia and complete the interior of George's house at Gunston Hall. In some fashion, Thomson discovered young William Buckland and induced him to sign an indenture to serve the Masons "in the Plantations of Virginia, Beyond the seas for the space of four years as a Carpenter and Joiner." This was in return for the ocean passage. On the part of the Masons, Thomson signed an agreement to "provide for and allow the said William Buckland all necessary meat, drink, washing, lodging fit and convenient for him as covenant Servants in such cases . . . and pay . . . the said William Buckland wages or salary at the rate of twenty pounds sterling per annum, payable quarterly." By mid-eighteenth-century standards, this was a generous arrangement and relatively high pay. Skilled craftsmen were scarce, the demand was great, and an honest and reliable man could expect to do well in the new country.

When Buckland arrived, Gunston Hall was well along in its construction. The walls were up and the roof was on, and Buckland was put to work on the interior, where his skill as a joiner and carver could be applied. Indeed, Buckland's forte was not so much in the overall design of a building but in planning and executing the details of the interiors.

Master builders in colonial America generally depended upon con-

venient manuals of design and construction written by English architects for the use of carpenters. Nearly every colonial library of any consequence possessed one or more of these manuals. One of the most widely used was Batty Langley's *The City and Country Builder's and Workman's Treasury of Designs* (London, 1756), and it is interesting to note that in an inventory of Buckland's personal estate this book, along with a half-dozen other useful works of a similar sort, is listed. With these design books, a planter could pick out the type of house that he desired, and Buckland or any other craftsman of his skill could carry the plan to execution. Buckland was a highly trained worker and the interiors that he finished, as at Gunston Hall, are evidence of both skillful craftsmanship and good taste.

The authors of this volume claim twenty-two structures in Virginia and Maryland for Buckland. Not all of them can be proved conclusively to have been built by Buckland, and in some instances, he was not responsible for the whole structure. Of the twenty-two buildings, all except five are still standing. His most important work, after Gunston Hall, was done at Annapolis. The last chapter in the volume called "Postscript" lists the surviving houses and owners.

As in the case of many other colonial figures, recorded facts about Buckland and his work are scanty, and the authors have to depend upon inference for some of their generalizations. They have been careful to distinguish between what can be documented and what is guesswork, and the reader is not left wondering about the nature of the evidence. They are at their best when they are discussing the quality and characteristics of colonial building, but they are less happy in their generalizations about social conditions in Virginia and Maryland and at times betray a lack of understanding of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century social history. The book would have been improved if editors had excised a few bald, unnecessary, and inaccurate statements, as for example, "The newspapers of the day were largely supported by the paid advertisements of owners of runaway servants (p. 45)." On the whole, however, this is a useful and conscientious account of a colonial craftsman who made an important contribution to the amenities of living in Virginia and Maryland. The volume contains a number of excellent photographs and plans.

LOUIS B. WRIGHT

Folger Library

Entangling Alliance. By ALEXANDER DECONDE. Durham: Duke University Press, 1958, xiv, 536. \$7.50.

This volume is a study of the diplomacy and politics of the Washington Administration with its thesis "the interaction of foreign policy and domestic politics centering on the French alliance." Since there is no single study of Franco-American relations from 1789 to 1801, the monograph fulfills a definite need for students of diplomatic history. This reviewer was disappointed that Professor DeConde limited himself to the

Washington Administration and did not include the four fateful years of John Adams, thus embracing the entire story of Franco-American relations under the diplomacy of the Federalist Party.

During the period, the guiding spirit of our diplomacy was Hamilton's, enjoying the effective political support of Washington. The author takes a penetrating look at some of the traditional clichés concerning the era and concludes that "the principle of avoidance of entangling alliances . . . was based on partisan politics." Some sharp shafts are hurled at Hamilton, though Jefferson does not escape unscathed. Indeed, the fundamentals of our diplomacy were Hamiltonian in spirit, often governed by political expediency, and altogether "was a specific response to a specific situation."

The author frankly states this will not materially add to the traditional picture scholars have of the diplomacy of the period. However, he makes a significant contribution in clearly pointing out and emphasizing party politics and the influence political considerations had upon our founding fathers who "were marked too often in their attitudes by selfish, irrational behavior; too often they placed political advantage above national welfare."

The volume is valuable not only as a diplomatic study of troublesome times, but also as presenting in sharp focus the domestic problems of the Washington Administration and their interaction upon our diplomacy. The political headaches are as deftly handled, though necessarily condensed, as are the diplomatic crises of the struggling young Republic.

Professor DeConde takes a realistic look at America's power position in the epic struggle convulsing Europe, and of the implications of the Franco-American Alliance. The author feels that in giving Hamilton a guiding voice in his Administration Washington had made the Alliance a dead letter. Furthermore, this policy planted the seeds of war with France, and in his declining years Washington is "not seen at his best." A defect of the monograph is the lack of a formal bibliography. Students will be forced to plow through the voluminous footnotes to appreciate the vast amount of research which has gone into this volume. The book is well written and will surely add to the growing stature of DeConde.

Worth pondering in the light of our diplomatic history and the American approach to foreign affairs are the words of DeConde: "For good or evil, foreign policy issues had been forced to the level of domestic politics and were debated publicly in bids for popular support. . . . At the beginning of America's national history . . . the heat of politics gave birth to a democratic approach to foreign policy."

EUGENE H. BACON

Georgetown University

Give Me Liberty, The Struggle for Self-Government in Virginia. By THOMAS J. WERTENBAKER. Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1958. 275 pp. \$3.

Give Me Liberty is a lively study of colonial Virginia's struggle for self-government by an outstanding historian of the period. The narrative of political events, based on extensive research in English and American archive collections, is presented against a broad background of economic and social developments. With his usual skill, the author brings the text to life by vivid sketches of important personalities and by judicious use of contemporary quotations that catch the high spirits of the time.

Mr. Wertenbaker presents Virginia's struggle for self-government primarily in terms of the contests between successive royal governors and the colonial assembly. This viewpoint spotlights an arena where many British-American disagreements were fought out in the colonial period, but inevitably sometimes leads to oversimplification of the problems involved. Although both are suggested, for example, neither the difficulties for British colonial administration posed by governmental structure in Britain and in the colonies, nor the complexities of domestic politics caused by the conflicting interests of the small farmers of the back country and the plantation owners of the tidewater, are discussed in the detail necessary for full understanding of the imperial dilemma.

One of Mr. Wertenbaker's aims in writing this book was to show that Virginians rebelled in 1776 not to gain new rights, but to maintain the self-government they had secured bit by bit throughout the 17th and 18th centuries. The point is well taken but supporting evidence often lacks clarity. The organization of the book around the terms of various governors tends to hide significant advances of the assembly in the details of its quarrels with the governors. The frequent use of the terms "liberty," "self-government," and "democracy" without precise definition further confuses the issue. These words are not synonymous, though frequently used as if they were. Moreover, their meanings changed. The effective core of self-government, as the author clearly shows, lay in the assembly's power of taxation, but with the weakening of royal control in the 18th century, self-government in practice by 1776 involved much more than it had in 1607. Exactly what it had come to mean, however, is almost lost in the recital of events. It is admittedly very difficult to analyse the exact meaning of ideals like liberty and self-government, particularly in conjunction with a chronological narrative, yet unless this is attempted, surely the ultimate significance of political events cannot be fully appreciated.

RHODA M. DORSEY

Goucher College

Historic Houses of George-Town and Washington City. By HAROLD DONALDSON EBERLEIN and CORTLANDT VAN DYKE HUBBARD. (Preface by RICHARD HUBBARD HOWLAND.) Richmond: The Dietz Press, Inc. 1958, xvi, 480, ill. 100, \$15.

The chronological and perhaps social priority of George-Town over the Federal City is indicated in this title and developed briefly in the two summaries entitled, respectively "Early Georgetown" and "The Ugly Duckling." The body of the book is divided almost equally between the thirty-two buildings chosen from the former community, and the twenty-nine in the latter, with a page allowance varying from a bare half page to the ten or fifteen pages devoted to each of about a dozen examples. The obvious exception is the White House to which sixty-eight pages are allotted. The majority of the buildings selected are houses, but a few churches and the Navy Yard are included.

Photography, which so often equals or surpasses words in current architectural publications, is limited to charming, clear, and somewhat conventional views of exteriors, a few interiors, a few old prints and paintings. The fact that the pictures are treated as illustrations and imbedded in the text adds greatly to the pleasure of reading.

These two experienced and distinguished writers in the field of historic American architecture have combined their great knowledge and their skills to create a delightfully urbane record of social history. The presentation of Tudor Place, for example, offers to a mid-twentieth century reader an extraordinarily sharp mental picture of episodes in the life of the house as Mrs. Thomas Peter (Martha Parke Custis) created it. There are very specific, but not unduly intimate details of the family life, the famous guests, the political and social feuds, and the presumption of the British in setting fire to the Capitol and the Patent Office. Subsequent generations of the Peter family have accepted and maintained the traditions set by this remarkable woman.

The unique character of these two communities, so familiar to Marylanders, deserves much more attention than it receives in the two essays. Only the map—a rather small and not very effective redrawing of the map of 1791—suggests the specific difference in community design. Marylanders will recall that Georgetown, Maryland, was in 1695 the site of the inspection of tobacco from the plantations of Frederick County.

This volume does not serve as a history of architectural style or community design. It reflects a lifetime interest in the *function* of houses and churches and is, therefore, a warmly human story of manners and men seen through their journals and their dwellings. Therefore, the authors can avoid a direct discussion of the problem which besets us today, namely, to preserve or to let go the architectural framework of our past. In this book it is clear that as long as a building with architectural distinction and socio-historical associations continues to shelter an appropriate human activity, it will continue to have architectural reality. The tragic side of preservation today lies not so much in decay, which may indeed

be romantic, but in the reduction of a living shelter to a clean and empty shell.

ELEANOR PATTERSON SPENCER

Goucher College

Joseph Reed: A Moderate in the American Revolution. By JOHN F. ROCHE. Columbia Studies in the Social Sciences, No. 595. New York: Columbia University Press, 1957. x, 298 pp. \$5.

Joseph Reed of Pennsylvania served his country faithfully and well. In the years 1773-1775 he sought an improved understanding between Britain and her colonies, ably but thanklessly conducting a prolonged correspondence with Lord Dartmouth, the colonial secretary; he was also active in the pre-revolutionary committee system. Early in the war he proved himself invaluable to Washington, first as military secretary, then as adjutant general of the Continental Army. Retiring to civil life he became briefly a delegate to the Continental Congress, and subsequently president of Pennsylvania, 1778-1781, difficult years.

Reed made a sincere attempt to avert the break with the mother country, and for a time he continued to regard the Declaration of Independence as a stratagem; thus he is revealed to have been one of the moderates of his day, as John F. Roche, his new biographer, insists. Less clear is Reed's role as a moderate in state politics. Early in 1779 he let himself be committed to the side of the Whig extremists, the Constitutionalist party. At a period of intense party warfare, for a sensitive and unforgiving man, this commitment was definitive. Unquestionably, in the middle years of the war he gave the centrally important but feeble Pennsylvania government the energetic administration essential for success in the national struggle. Regrettably, party spirit branded him so that he became incapable of providing for the disunited commonwealth the healing moderation equally essential after Yorktown.

The new biographer's prose leaves something to be desired and there are a few minor errors of fact. The statement that Reed studied "Cicero, Virgil and Tully" (page 8) betrays limited interest and knowledge regarding the curriculum of the day. Like other historians, the author errs in identifying as Quakers Roberts and Carlisle, who were hanged for treason (page 146). He implies that a new legislature was given an opportunity to prevent the execution (pages 146-147), whereas the death warrant was carried out before the house could organize. He states that in the spring of 1776 "twelve of the thirteen new representatives from the west were warm supporters of the revolution" (page 78), but this allegation he bases on a remark of C. H. Lincoln, "So far as I have ascertained, but one of the whole number opposed the movement for a new constitution," a remark which itself was too slenderly based. Elsewhere (page 198) Mr. Roche presents a plausible account of the election strategy of the Constitutionlists in 1782, on the somewhat dubious basis of a single newspaper letter from an anonymous opponent. A confused

note (18 on page 228) identifies Maurice Morgann rather than Lord Shelburne as first Marquis of Lansdowne. Occasionally a loaded phrase suggests that the author has through long contact become infected with the bitterness so characteristic of Reed. He terms the Whig opposition, such patriots as General Cadwalader, "comrades in a program of subversion" (page 145), says that they formed the Republican Society "to continue agitation against the government" (page 164), and holds that the rival Constitutional Society was "formed to defend the government" (page 256), implying in these phrases that it is unpatriotic to seek constitutional change, though the means be orderly.

In sketching Pennsylvania's party struggles the author proves a thorough knowledge and implicit acceptance of the standard interpretations. He refutes the several plausible attacks on Reed's monumental patriotism, while unflinchingly facing the evidence of undeniable mistakes. Because it is solidly based on the unpublished Reed Papers, this factual biography constitutes a useful supplement to Brunhouse's *Counter-Revolution in Pennsylvania* (1942) and may be recommended to the specialist.

HENRY J. YOUNG

Dickinson College

Economic Readjustment of an Old Cotton State. By ALFRED GLAZE SMITH, JR. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1958. viii, 239 pp. \$5.

Mr. Smith's monograph is a detailed and profusely documented investigation of the ante-bellum economy of South Carolina. Taking the year 1819 and that year's break in cotton prices as a dividing line between the old and the new economic scenes in the Palmetto State, the author reviews the changes that came about in the state's economy between 1820 and 1860. These changes produced an economic readjustment, resulting in a decrease of the importance of cotton in South Carolina's economy.

That there was a basic economic readjustment in South Carolina after 1819 is questionable. There were changes that took place in the state's economy between 1820 and 1860, as the author clearly brings out in chapters on agriculture, manufacturing, internal improvements, and banking. Those developments, however, apparently failed to create any fundamental change in the economic life of South Carolinians. In the chapter on manufacturing, Mr. Smith establishes the fact that industry failed to grow in a significant manner prior to the Civil War. And in the chapter on agriculture, it is shown that cotton remained the most important crop grown in South Carolina. Thus if industry made little progress in the state and cotton continued to be the leading item in the ante-bellum agrarian economy of South Carolina, what basic readjustment occurred? Wasn't it true, as the author writes of cotton, that "the State was caught in a trap with regard to attempts to alter the structure of the economy (p. 59)."?

The research upon which this volume is based is most impressive. In particular, the author's thorough and extensive use of South Carolina public documents and newspapers is very commendable. Perhaps it would have been better, however, if the lavish use of quoted material in the book had been curtailed. In 217 pages of text there are over sixty quotations of more than four lines in length. It is regrettable, also, that a bibliography was not included in the book.

In spite of the preceding comments, this is still a valuable piece of work. The author's intensive research has enabled him to present many facts and figures that will be of value to scholars for years to come. The chapter on agriculture contains a thorough review of farming between 1820-1860, supported by several helpful and informative tables and charts. Interesting details concerning manufacturing and internal improvements are brought out in the chapters on those two subjects. Of especial value in the preceding chapters is Mr. Smith's analysis of local efforts throughout South Carolina in behalf of developing improved farming practices, promoting industry, and encouraging internal improvements. The final chapter deals with banking, and here it is shown that the conservatism of the banking interests prevented banks from really aiding the economic growth of the state.

One aspect of the economic scene in South Carolina was not dealt with in this book—slavery. As that institution was the basis of the state's labor economy, the changes taking place within it are an important subject. Perhaps, however, Mr. Smith plans to deal with slavery in a subsequent study.

S. SIDNEY BRADFORD

Fort McHenry
National Park Service

Jonathan Trumbull, Connecticut's Merchant Magistrate, 1710-1785. By GLENN WEAVER. Hartford: The Connecticut Historical Society, 1956. 182 pp. \$4.

Scholars of the present generation are just beginning to test by case studies of particular mercantile houses some of the generalizations applied to larger areas by two path-breaking works of the 1930's. Recently Philip L. White's monograph on the *Beekmans of New York* unsuccessfully contested the conclusion reached by Virginia D. Harrington in her *New York Merchants on the Eve of the Revolution* that the typical merchant of the period was not a specialist but performed diversified economic functions. The present study by Mr. Weaver exemplifies rather than challenges many of the findings of Margaret E. Martin in her excellent treatment of *Merchants and Trade of the Connecticut River Valley, 1750-1820*. Like the Browns of Providence Plantations and the as yet undescribed Ridgelys of Maryland, Jonathan Trumbull well fits the pattern of diversification. He had a farm, flour mill, malt house, fulling mill, and brewery as well as vessel shares and mercantile interests. Indeed, during

most of the first two decades of his business life he was as much a cattle dealer and meat packer as he was a merchant.

Each year, usually in the fall, Trumbull ventured forth from the small inland town of Lebanon, where he had his store and warehouse, in order to buy cattle in neighboring towns. After pasturing them until a large enough herd (30 to 40) was on hand, he hired men to drive them the ninety miles to Boston. In the later 1730's and throughout the 1740's, Trumbull placed increasing emphasis on the carting of barreled beef and pork fifteen miles to Norwich, a focal point for water shipments to Rhode Island and Massachusetts. Norwich, in turn, supplied his store with salt, sugar, and other bulky goods, especially from the West Indies. Boston was the main source of his English merchandise. The leading merchant of Lebanon, and by mid-century one of Connecticut's largest provisions dealers, Trumbull thus served as an important link in a chain of distribution by which country produce reached coastal ports for export, and European and West Indian goods reached final consumers, either via direct retail sales in his store or via wholesale distribution to smaller crossroads shopkeepers and chapmen. His dependence upon Boston for vitally important English goods illustrates the larger dependence of Connecticut upon that port. In 1749, and once again in the early 1760's, Trumbull became a member of relatively brief-lived partnerships organized for the purpose of importing direct from England. Short-term credits made possible the receipt of several cargoes, for which remittances of whale oil from Nantucket formed the main means of payment. Some payments were not made, however, for in 1767 Trumbull went bankrupt.

In explaining Trumbull's failure Mr. Weaver cites an array of contributing causes: a disadvantageous inland location, failure to spread risks more broadly, poor choice of partners, ignoring of agents' advice, poor judgment, and preoccupation with public duties. Like John Hancock, who also failed as a businessman, Trumbull cuts a larger figure in the literature of patriotism than in the annals of mercantile success. Upon the outbreak of the Revolution Trumbull, after many years of public service to Connecticut, was the only colonial governor to step to the patriot side. The cause upon which main emphasis is placed is simple: Trumbull "extended more credit to retail customers and rural shopkeepers than his business could stand" (p. 151). This is persuasive: bad debts have damaged or broken many a businessman. Unfortunately, however, Mr. Weaver involves his adequate explanation with the operation of external "forces" of a monetary nature. His uncertain discussion of these forces (see pp. 16-21, p. 62, and pp. 151-153) mars this diligent enquiry into difficult accounting sources, as well as into little-known works in local history. The amount and origin of the cash received by Trumbull in his retail business, not only immediately but in later payment of credit transactions, remains uncertain, as does the extent to which it was required for his purchases in Boston. Other inadequacies are: Mr. Weaver's failure to resolve contradictions (e. g. the same source is cited for statements on pp. 111-112 that Irish merchants were not interested in flaxseed and that the Irish market for flaxseed promised to be particularly good),

editorial lapses (on p. 114 "Mr. Pitkin" appears when it is "Mr. Fitch" that is meant), and an occasional display of naïvete that is disconcerting (p. 115, for example, confuses assets with means of foreign payment). Despite these weaknesses, the book makes a useful contribution, particularly to our understanding of the nature of the inland links in the chain of distribution.

STUART BRUCHEY

Northwestern University

Verdict for the Doctor: The Case of Benjamin Rush. By WINTHROP and FRANCES NEILSON. New York: Hastings House, Publishers, 1958. ix, 245 pp. \$4.50.

This, the thirteenth published work of Mr. and Mrs. Neilson, is a story of the quarrel between two remarkable historical figures, William Cobbett and Benjamin Rush. Cobbett, temporarily unwelcome in his native England, served briefly in Philadelphia during the turbulent closing years of the eighteenth century as a vehement publicist of conservative Federalism. A favorite target for his angry pen was Dr. Benjamin Rush, ostensibly for the famous Doctor's belief in the efficacy of bleeding as a cure for the victims of Philadelphia's severe yellow fever epidemics, but fundamentally because of the Jeffersonian caste of Rush's strong-willed mind. Rush at length replied with a libel suit which proved successful to the amount of \$5,000. Cobbett returned to England shortly thereafter.

Verdict for the Doctor is a good story, lightly spun between the personalities of two fascinating men, but as a work of history it is undistinguished. The papers of Benjamin Rush are unusually rich and accessible, yet the Neilsons list only published sources in their sparse bibliography. Their imaginative embellishments are a poor substitute for detail which careful research might have yielded.

Nearly a fourth of the book is devoted to a lurid, but largely extraneous narrative of the yellow fever epidemic of 1793—which incidentally is much more skillfully described in J. H. Powell's excellent *Bring Out Your Dead*—while episodes of the libel trial, the focus of the story, are neglected. The illuminating quarrel between Cobbett and his attorney, Robert Goodloe Harper, is virtually ignored.

Finally, Mr. and Mrs. Neilson have failed to point out the significance of their tale. If it possesses one, the reader remains ignorant of it.

DAVID HACKETT FISCHER

The Johns Hopkins University

Cities and Camps of the Confederate States. By FITZGERALD ROSS. Edited with an introduction by RICHARD BARKSDALE HARWELL. Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1958. xxii, 262 pp. \$4.50.

Outstanding books by present day authors on America's great war—the Civil War—are coming off the presses almost daily. At the same time, because of the public's increasing interest in this period, more and more new editions of older Civil War classics, written by participants or observers, are being made available to readers. Among the latter group is Fitzgerald Ross's *Cities and Camps of the Confederate States*. Originally published in 1865 it was expanded into book form from a series of articles published in England in 1864 and 1865. Englishman Ross, a Captain in the Austrian Hussars, was a rather colorful figure who toured in the Confederate States as an observer from May 1863 to April 1864. Although Ross was a rabid supporter of the Southern cause, its institutions, and way of life (he did not see how the South could lose), thus not always able to present a truly unbiased picture of what was actually taking place, his accounts from the Confederate viewpoint are most interesting and valuable contributions to the study and understanding of this aspect of Civil War history. During his travels, Ross visited such important Southern cities as Richmond, Wilmington, Charleston, Augusta, Savannah, and Mobile, where he had an opportunity to see life behind the lines. While in the field, where he spent much time, Ross learned to know the men in the ranks as well as some of the leading Confederate officers. He also had first hand experiences at the Battles of Gettysburg and Chickamauga and the bombardments of Charleston.

Ross's accounts are not mere detailed descriptions of military campaigns or military leaders but rather observations about the people, institutions, and life in the South from both the viewpoint of the soldier and the civilian. Marylanders will find Ross's writings of special interest because he entered the Confederacy from here, and some of his reports were from the Hagerstown region when Lee's Army was making its invasion of and retreat from Pennsylvania. *Cities and Camps of the Confederate States*, in many respects, is a continuation or sequel to Colonel Fremantle's *Three Months in the Southern States*, April-June 1863, which was reprinted in 1954. These two books by Englishmen should be considered as companion volumes.

Richard B. Harwell has done a splendid job in editing the new edition with the addition of a few illustrations, but more significant, Mr. Harwell is to be highly commended for his purpose "to elucidate Ross's narrative with parallel comments of his contemporaries on the same events." The placing of these footnotes where they belong, at the bottom of the page, has not harmed Ross's work nor will it lessen a reader's interest in the main story. Only one failure in edition is to be noticed—the original book contained a map of the Southern States with Ross's route outlined on it, but the present edition omitted this helpful guide. However, this is a minor point when students of Civil War history will find this new edition

of Ross's travels valuable for instruction and the layman will find it most enjoyable for just interesting reading.

WILLIAM H. WROTEN, JR.

*State Teachers College,
Salisbury, Md.*

Fort Delaware. By W. EMERSON WILSON. Institute of Delaware History and Culture Pamphlet Series, Number 4. Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1957. 32 pp.

This small but interestingly written pamphlet tells the story of the old fort in the Delaware River which the State of Delaware is restoring as an historical park. Its author, a Wilmington newspaperman, deals primarily with the fort during the Civil War when many Maryland political prisoners were confined there, and a Marylander, Colonel Robert C. Buchanan, U. S. A., for a time commanded the post. Many readers will be surprised to learn that conditions at Fort Delaware were even worse than the foul conditions at notorious Andersonville prison. Wilson also includes several pages which tell the early history of the fortifications on Pea Patch Island and several more which bring the story up to date. This is obviously not the definitive history of the fort, but the author concludes with the plea that persons who have materials of interest to it should communicate with the Fort Delaware Historical Society which was founded for that purpose.

FRANK F. WHITE, JR.

*Hall of Records
Annapolis*

NOTES AND QUERIES

PARKER GENEALOGICAL PRIZE

The sum of \$85 will be awarded in prizes for well prepared genealogies of Maryland families, submitted for the Dudrea and Sumner Parker Annual Award. Preference will be given those papers that present a connected and orderly account of one or more families identified closely with Maryland. Entrants may be either members or non-members of the Society. Papers presented in this contest should be received by the Society on or before December 31, 1958. This award was established in 1947, in memory of the late Sumner A. Parker by Mrs. Parker, who has herself taken a keen interest in Maryland genealogy and wishes to see the Society's collection of genealogies extended as far as possible. First prize will be \$50, second prize \$25 and third prize \$10.

All papers entered will become the property of the Society. Entries should be addressed: Parker Genealogical Contest, Maryland Historical Society, 201 West Monument St.

The Library of Congress is preparing to publish a catalog of the work of Charles Fenderich, 19th century lithographer, who is best known for his portraits of prominent people done between 1837 and 1849. Fenderich, or Carl Fendrich, was born in Switzerland in 1805. After working in Switzerland and Paris, he came to the United States about 1831 and settled presumably in Philadelphia. He lithographed views of Philadelphia, Washington, Annapolis; Mexican War scenes, genre subjects and music covers. They were printed, among others, by Edward Weber & Co. of Baltimore. He went to California in 1849 and died there in 1887. The Library of Congress has some of his original drawings and watercolors.

The Library would appreciate information regarding any prints or drawings by Fenderich, as well as biographical information.

(Miss) ALICE LEE PARKER, Asst. Chief,
Reference Department,
Prints and Photographs Division,
The Library of Congress,
Washington 25, D. C.

Manuscripts historian Fred Shelley has been appointed Head of the newly established Presidential Papers Section in the Manuscript Division, Library of Congress. This section has been established to prepare for microfilming and to index the Library's 23 collections of Presidential papers. Congress recently appropriated \$100,000 for the initiation of this project.

A native of Kansas, Mr. Shelley received his academic training at Kansas State Teachers College, Emporia, where he received the A. B. and B. S. Degrees in 1940 and the M. S. degree in 1941, and he has completed 4 years of graduate study at the American University. Mr. Shelley's wide experience in archival and library techniques and in editorial work was gained as a member of the staff of the Recent Manuscripts Section in the Manuscript Division from 1946 to 1950, as Librarian of the Maryland Historical Society for the following 5 years, as Librarian of the New Jersey Historical Society from 1955 to 1958, and, since June 1958, as Head of the Reader Service Section in LC's Manuscript Division. He edited the *Maryland Historical Magazine* for 4 years (1951-55), and he compiled *A Guide to the Manuscripts Collection of the New Jersey Historical Society*, published in 1957.

Chief Historian for the Department of the Army, Dr. Kent R. Greenfield, was honored at a farewell reception Friday, Sept. 26, 1958, at the Naval Gun Factory Officers' Club before he retired on the 11th of October.

A native of Chestertown, Maryland, and ex-chairman of the history department of Johns Hopkins University, Dr. Greenfield has served the Army for 12 years. As a dean of military historians, the scholar will leave an immense research and writing project—the history of the Army in World War II—well on its way towards completion.

The Institute of Early American History and Culture has announced the establishment of the second annual Institute Manuscript Award which will be presented in May, 1959. Five hundred dollars will be paid to the author of the best unpublished work in early American history and the winning entry will be published by the Institute. Manuscripts by mature scholars are invited. A doctoral dissertation will not be eligible unless it has been accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Ph. D. degree and is accompanied by a recommendation from the thesis director. Judges for the 1959 competition are Dumas Malone, University of Virginia (on leave from Columbia University 1958-59); Louis B. Wright, Folger Shakespeare Library; and Max Savelle, University of Washington, who will serve as chairman of the committee. Manuscripts should be addressed to James M. Smith, Editor of Publications, Institute of Early American History and Culture, Box 1298, Williamsburg, Virginia.

The 1958 Institute Manuscript Award was presented to Lawrence H. Leder, assistant director of research and publications at Sleepy Hollow Restorations, Tarrytown, New York, for his biographical study of Robert Livingston (1654-1728).

Arizona and the West, a new quarterly journal of history, will be published in the spring of 1959 by the University of Arizona.

Subsequent numbers of the quarterly will appear in the summer, fall, and winter. *Arizona and the West* is planned to be traditional in format, printed on fine stock, and occasionally illustrated. It will be suitable for binding in sets of four to make a volume. Each number will carry approximately 100 pages.

Editor of the new quarterly will be John Alexander Carroll, Ph. D., associate professor of history at the university, and winner of the 1958 Pulitzer Prize for biography.

Arizona and the West will be devoted specifically to the history of Arizona from earliest times to the recent past. As a secondary feature, material of general significance in the history of the West will be included.

Lewis—Who were the parents of *Delilah Lewis* who married Leonard Reel, or Reid, in Frederick Co., Md. in Dec. 1809. Marriage Record is recorded in Frederick County.

(Miss) ALTA CHRISMAN,
4741 Valley Rd., Lincoln 10, Nebr.

Carr-Soper-Childs—Will appreciate information concerning the parentage and dates of birth and death of Drucilla Soper who was the wife of Benjamin Carr of "Carr's Hills," Anne Arundel County, Maryland. Benjamin's will was probated in 1796. Also parentage and dates for Susanna Childs who was married to Robert Carr, the son of Benjamin, in 1789.

MARGARET J. S. CARR,
5713 Belair Road, Baltimore 6, Md.

Selby—Information wanted about Mary Selby of Anne Arundel County, Md., and her parents. Mary Selby was born in Anne Arundel Co. When? Died when? Died where? She was married August 1, 1715 in Saint Anne's Parish, Maryland to Charles Howard. Mary Selby, widow of Charles Howard, married Otho Holland December 9, 1718. Want also names and dates of birth, marriage and death of her parents.

MRS. HOWARD CRANE,
1101 N. Mallard St., Palestine, Texas

Taylor—Information would be appreciated concerning the parents of David Taylor who is buried at "Taylor's Venture" near Principio Furnace in Cecil County. Also his dates of birth and death. Was he the son of William and Agness Taylor? William was the son of John of South Susquehanna Hundred and a brother of Capt. Thomas Taylor who is also buried there with his wife, Ann, and some of their ten children. David had a maiden sister, Betsy, and sons, William and George, and daughters, Mary and Eliza.

MORTON F. TAYLOR,
Perryville, Md.

Belt—Information would be appreciated concerning the maiden name of the wife of Edward Belt, b. 1749 Prince George's Co., Md., married about 1780 in or near Baltimore. Left two children, Richard Watkins and Elizabeth who were brought up by their maternal uncle, Richard.

GEORGE H. HOLMES,
Clarksburg, Calif.

Fenwick—I am gathering material for a biography of Benedict Joseph Fenwick (1782-1846) who was Roman Catholic Bishop of Boston from 1825 until his death. Bishop Fenwick was a son of George and Margaret (Medley) Fenwick and was born on his father's plantation in St. Mary's County. George Fenwick was a surveyor and in 1791 the family moved to Georgetown, although continuing to operate their two farms through managers, when he was employed to survey the District of Columbia. The Fenwicks remained in Georgetown thereafter. George Fenwick died in 1811 and his wife in 1829. Besides Bishop Fenwick, they had three sons, Rev. Enoch Fenwick, S. J., long Rector of Baltimore Cathedral, Rev. George Fenwick, S. J., a professor at Holy Cross and Georgetown Colleges, and Francis Fenwick, who married and lived at different times in Georgetown and Frederick. I am hoping to locate letters to or from members of this family or diaries or other documents that refer to one or another of them. I should greatly appreciate any help in locating or copying these papers, as well as biographical or genealogical details on this branch of the Fenwick family.

RICHARD K. MACMASTERS, S. J.,
Loyola Seminary, Shrub Oak, New York

CONTRIBUTORS

FRANK F. WHITE, JR. is a member of the Maryland Historical Society and worked in the manuscript division for some time. At present he is employed as an archivist at the Maryland Hall of Records, Annapolis.

JOSEPH T. DURKIN, S. J., is a prominent author on Civil War subjects and Professor of United States History at the University of Georgetown. He is a member of the Board of Directors of the Civil War Centennial Commission. He has edited *John Dooley, Confederate Soldier*, 1945, and written the biography, *Stephen R. Mallory, Confederate Navy Chief*, 1952. His biography, *General Sherman's Son*, will appear in the spring of 1959.

KENNETH L. CARROLL is a native of Easton, Maryland, and Associate Professor of Religion at Southern Methodist University. His studies on Quakerism have appeared in several important historical journals such as the *Delaware Magazine of History* and the *North Carolina Historical Review*.

CALEB DORSEY is a member of the Maryland Historical Society and is a student of Maryland genealogy and history. He has contributed several articles to the *Magazine*.

WILLIAM VOSS ELDER, III, a member of the Maryland Historical Society, is a native of Baltimore County. He is a graduate of Princeton University, class of 1954, and is a student of early American architecture.

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